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DEMOCRACY AT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

By NORMAN ANGELL

The next step in national policy is to prepare for the next step in international policy. How are we to introduce democracy, that is, democratic method, into the conduct and spirit of international affairs? If we propose to follow old methods of settlement, when the time for settlement comes, this war to make the world safe for democracy will have failed utterly to give the world democracy just where it needs it most—in the relationship between nations, in international affairs.

We talk of peace terms, but are neglecting the most important peace terms of all: and the one which in point of time must come first: The kind of conference that will make the peace.

Is it to be of the old kind? That is to say, are elderly and distinguished diplomats, representing the belligerent governments, to meet in secret, sit in secret, and then hand out that settlement under which mankind is to live for a century or two? Because, as these affairs are now managed, the settlement which they hand out in this way would in fact be the final settlement however much each government might go through the farce of obtaining parliamentary sanction and approval.

We talk of "No Peace with the Kaiser" and it is a good slogan. I take it to mean that we will make no peace with a government that acts without the full knowledge on the part of the people of the obligations and policies to which that people is committed. A people which has had no real opportunity of judging the nature of the policy to which its government commits it, and finds itself in the position of having to support that policy simply because the government has committed it to it, is an autocratically governed people whatever its form of constitution.

Yet it is that form of settlement to which we are drifting; and the people who are most vociferous in their demand for "No Peace with the Kaiser" are the very same who are apt to get most fero-

ciously angry at the suggestion that we need some democratic control of foreign affairs; and that in adhering to the old diplomatic methods we are playing the game of autocracy.

Suppose you get the democratization of Germany, some form of Parliamentary responsibility, but that the German government adhere to exactly the diplomatic machinery of all other governments. That is to say, it gives plenary powers to diplomats appointed by its Foreign Office, who, in negotiation, meet similarly appointed diplomats in secret conference. We will assume even that Germany follows American precedent and has all treaties ratified by the Bundesrath! Do you really suppose that you won't have the same men, carrying on the same plots, pursuing the same policies, getting their country into the same situation which can be made to look to the German people as defensive?

We must democratize at the point where the need is most crying—in foreign politics. The future relationship must not be a relationship of Foreign Offices but of peoples.

In brief, the conference which settles this war must be much less in the nature of a secret meeting of diplomats, and much more in the nature of a Parliament of the Peoples than the Peace Congresses of the past. The popular assemblies of the belligerent states—the legislative as well as the executive side of government—must be represented; and not only the majority parties of the moment but all parties. For the minorities of to-day may be the majorities of to-morrow. If nations, instead of governments, are to be represented, this minority representation is indispensable.

Were this principle accepted we should take the preponderant power in foreign affairs out of the hands of the German government and put it into the hands of the German people, through their representatives. In some such way, and in some such way only, can we carry into real effect the principle of "No Peace with the Kaiser."

But America is not ready for it. America's own minorities—Labor, if it is a minority—has not political representation. How is organized Labor to get representation at the Peace in such a way that in imposing upon Germany the same method as we ourselves employ we

should know that we were dealing with the German people and not their masters? We have not worked out this problem of democracy; and it is the biggest one which faces us. To find some solution for it is the next step in national policy.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF RAILROADS

ORDWAY TEAD

On December 28, 1917, the federal government took over the operation of the railroads of the United States. No time for the expiration of this operation has yet been set and it is a matter of almost universal belief that whatever happens after the war the multiform, competitive regime will not be resumed. We are at the least set permanently ahead toward a system of transportation conceived as one national unit and administered in the national interest. It remains only to assure that our progress toward complete nationalization is dictated by sound policies and not obstructed by a too hasty resort to untried expedients.

In bringing about this federal operation the President proposed, and legislation has since been introduced, to guarantee the railroads an amount of earnings equal to an average of each road's earnings in the fiscal years of 1915, 1916, and 1917. The Secretary of the Treasury becomes the Director General of the Railroads. And the entire equipment of the several transportation systems is "fully and unreservedly thrown into a common service without injurious discrimination to particular properties." Nothing, we are assured, "will be altered or disturbed which it is not necessary to disturb"; and it is contemplated that the country shall in every way avail itself "of the experience and trained ability of those who are now managing" the roads. Thus, with as little friction or disruption as could be imagined is taken a step at which norm-

ally the whole country would stand agape and skeptical. And well it might. The railroad business, we must recognize is probably without exception the most intricate and complex of industries; it requires an extraordinarily high capital outlay; and it has commanded some of the biggest brains of our country.

The chief interest of those who desire the ultimate assumption of the carriers by the nation is therefore to see that the present venture has the fairest possible trial, and that we take cognizance both of the permanently sound features of the present arrangement which should be retained, and of the dangers which should be guarded against. Of the values of the existing plan of control the first to merit emphasis is the retention in office of present experts so far as they are competent and necessary. It must be a cardinal principle of all nationalization that the actual technique of production must be left in the hands of the people with experience in producing. To be sure the present situation is complicated by the fact that railroad operators and employees may alike approach their new responsibilities with motives so mixed as to make it difficult for them to work with an eye to proving the efficacy of national operation. It is possible that they may have so much opposition to subsequent retention of the roads by the government that the scales will from the start be weighted against it. But this is hardly likely; and to the extent that it is revealed to the nation that the fullest

cooperation is being withheld from selfish motives, to that extent the public's case for continued nationalization is strengthened and its desire for it whetted.

The second value, one which we have probably now permanently achieved, is the operation of the roads for service only. This means the pooling of every bit of equipment, the use of the shortest hauls, the minimizing of traffic soliciting and of competitive de luxe service for advertising purposes. It means the elimination of new construction which is not dictated by the actual needs of service. It does not mean that profits are ignored or that contemporary business standards of sound fiscal operation are ignored. But it means that financial ends are made subservient to national, that is human, ends.

The care which is taken to assure fair payment is, in my judgment, of great value. There is no considerable public opinion in our country to favor assumption by confiscation. And so literally is it true that the railroad property is widely owned through the holdings of savings banks and insurance companies, that payment is the only possible basis on which the transfer of title can take place. Radicals will at once object that this only makes the private owner the more secure in his returns on capital; government bonds, if they are resorted to, can support people on unearned income as well, or better, than railroad shares. Where, it is therefore asked, is the gain in nationalization? There is not space here for an adequate answer. But to those who believe with President Wilson that "the unquestioned solidarity of that structure (of credit) must be maintained," some other way of freeing us from the incubus of unearned income must be sought. And for many the solution of the problem will be found in taxation which proceeds in prescribed, legal and popularly accepted ways to carry out the popular will. For the present at least our attack on unearned wealth can be most effectively advanced by the imposition of higher and still higher income, excess profits and inheritance taxes. We can afford to guarantee a five per cent. dividend if we will be

wise in our policy and if we will permanently retain all earnings in excess of that amount. And when the question arises of exchanging present securities for government bonds we can by adhering to a vigorous amortization policy in addition to our taxation, gradually and completely disposes of the recipients of unearned income. Limitation and guaranteeing of dividends is thus the proper first step in this direction.

Another step in the right direction is taken in the provision of government funds to acquire necessary railroad equipment. With the problem of purchase and supplies in its present stringent condition, the time is ripe to let the government undertake the provision of all additional equipment needed from this time forth. Even better than the government loaning of funds to the roads at from three to five per cent., which is also contemplated, is this plan of actual government ownership of all extensions and additions to plant with stipulations for its rental to the roads at a profitable rate. I emphasize this because it seems to me to afford a splendid chance for the government to try its mettle upon one of the problems which obviously will be most serious under complete ownership—namely, the awarding of contracts and the maintenance of purchased goods at the specified quality. In railroading the extent and variety of purchase is so enormous, and the importance of specification quality so fundamental, that this department of the business must be run without prejudice, favor or corruption. We can waste under public ownership by unwise purchase all that we might save by cheaper interest rates; and we can endanger by careless inspection of rails, axles and bridge steel more lives than we might save by the universal introduction of automatic block signals. It is for these reasons, therefore, that the suggestion is made that, while we are making experiments, we boldly go ahead in the field of purchase and try our hand at it.

A final value lies in the retention of the Interstate Commerce Commission to function along the same lines as now. While its new status is at the moment

somewhat ambiguous, it is clear that under any transfer of ownership or control there must be some judicial body to decide controversial matters between the management, the shippers and the traveling public. Conflict of local interest, the desire for favorable rate discriminations, the need of more modification of rates in the face of changed economic conditions,—these will not disappear with private ownership. And it is unsound in principle and poor practical business to leave such problems in the hands of the operating officials.

There is similarly the need for a less directly interested body to deliberate on matters affecting labor. Upon these matters of industrial relations both the President and the administration bill have remained silent,—not, we are led to suppose, because it is probably hoped to achieve harmony and the necessary understanding with labor in other, less public ways. Such relegation of the labor problem to the field of private conference has its elements of danger. And as the present federal operation goes on, it is all too likely that the lack of public and legal definition of their status before the law will lead the organized employees to be unduly fearful of national ownership. I have elsewhere stated in broad outline my own idea of the form which the relationship of management to employees should take on the railroads,* and it will therefore suffice to say here that one of the most important and immediate duties which confronts our country is to set its thinking straight as to the possibility and legitimacy of governmental recognition and dealing with subordinate groups in its employ. We must strip our minds of their nineteenth century furniture about the dignity and absolutism of the State. We must realize that the government as an employer has the same rights and duties as any other employer, no more and no less. The right to strike is as valid in one case as in the other. The need for every possible safeguard upon the contractual relation is obviously great; we

must do all we can by foresighted provisions and preventives to avoid disruption; but in the last analysis, with public opinion in its present confused state, we cannot invoke the omnipotence of the State to sustain government officials in the arbitrary exercise of control over departmental employees.

A second source of possible danger lies in the railroad clamor for higher freight rates. Whatever arguments there may have been for such increases before the present arrangement these no longer have force. Such increases would be a great mistake. They would add to manufacturing costs and give justification for price advances all out of proportion to heightened expense. This statement does not, however, apply to rates which by the removal of competition now become palpably unfair. There should at once be a readjustment of rates in situations where formerly competing lines were required to charge equal rates between two points; and such adjustments would involve increases. But that this alteration of rates would actually affect the cost of carriage of many goods is doubtful. It would serve rather to penalize shipments over any but the most direct routes.

It is necessary to mention in conclusion one possible contingency which has its dangers. It is conceivable that under the strain of war work our railroads may run very badly and inefficiently throughout the period of the war. Congestion may continue, passenger service may be crippled or grossly delayed; serious wrecks may occur; the curtailed service may not be restored as soon as the occasion for curtailment is over. This is not said to borrow trouble; but what should be our attitude in the face of any such fiasco? Would it prove the unwisdom of government operation, or of joint ownership or control, or of our former policy of regulated competition whereby the roads could not, or did not, develop as rapidly as the traffic demands? I cannot answer the question. I only know that it is the duty of every liberal to assure that so far as in him lies the present national operation is an unquestioned success.

* See "The Public." January 11, 1918.

THE FUTURE OF THE CITY*

By HENRY BRUERE

These are safe days for prophecy. The imagination may be given a loose rein, yet reality is likely quickly to outstrip it. The war pressure is bringing to fruit, as if by a miracle, the slow growth of years of social organization. A year ago American city government seemed to be a local problem of administration, influenced chiefly by the special conditions which prevail in cities. Today the character and tendencies of city government are less forcefully affected by the special problems of municipal life than by the new spirit of national cooperation that is spreading over America.

From old points of observation, a victory for reform, the growth of the Socialist vote to unprecedented proportions, the liberalizing of an ancient and reactionary party of conservatism, would have been signal episodes in the history of a city. They may still be regarded as significant, but chiefly as reflecting a new order of public mind and a new grasp on the realities of social life by the voting multitude.

Scarcely do we adjust ourselves to new conditions resulting from an event of momentous importance, than new events occur compelling more radical readjustment still. What the American city is now and promises to be is obviously the consequence of generations of effort, experiment, progress and reaction. In New York City the crucial episodes of the past—the fall of Tweed, the popular revolt against the domination of utility corporations, the victory and achievements of Fusion, the return to power of Tammany Hall with a new program and avowal of faith in progressive policies, are, it is true, factors of dominant influence in determining the future course of New York City's government. But all of the past is only the foundation upon which a new structure is to be erected, and not the structure itself. The character of this structure, I venture to say, is more likely to be af-

fectured by the happenings of the past week than by all New York's previous experience in government.

I refer to the nationalization of the railway systems in America. Here for the first time in their history the American people have taken hold of a vital factor in their economic life without a dissenting voice, and with unanimous conviction that not only is it an expedient compelled by war conditions, but that under national operation there is assurance that the needs of the nation will be better served than continued operation by private corporations would make possible.

The American public, therefore, within the period of a few months, under the discipline of war experience, has come to realize that the cooperative powers of the people expressed in government may be used effectively to deal with the vital forces of every day life. The taking over of the railroads places squarely upon the shoulders of the American people themselves responsibility for railway efficiency and serviceability. Experience acquired in their management will give new self-confidence to the people. They will find that, where in the complexity of modern civilization individual initiative and private enterprise are unable adequately to meet the pressing needs of a community, the alternative of public cooperation and public management can be relied upon to fill them.

These happenings in the nation will have their immediate effect upon city government. Citizens may now take for granted that the existing services of government can and must be efficiently conducted. This has been conclusively demonstrated by the past administration of the City of New York and by the governments of other American cities. The measurement of efficiency of government service will no longer be the standard of efficiency achieved in private business, but the ability of the government to render services which have grown too great for private enterprise.

* The following is an abstract of the address of New York's former city chamberlain at the I. S. S. Convention.

The future city government, therefore, and the city government of the immediate future, will be tested and appraised not by routine performance but by its initiative and ability in rendering services which have heretofore been regarded outside the scope of government effort. Public officials henceforth will have to reckon not merely with a public opinion guided by accepted standards of honesty and efficiency, but with a popular will which has determined, through public cooperation, to satisfy the urgent demands of community life.

I do not believe that the future city will be built on a theoretical conception of social organization. What the city does, the scope of its work, the extent of its powers, will be determined progressively by the development of new demands for community service. Powers will be gradually widened and activities expanded as demand arises. But city government as it exists today is a very definitely limited corporate institution of limited powers and limited financial and physical abilities. Though the government of the city of New York as now conducted performs services which in breadth and variety are exceeded by few cities of the world, existing limitations of power and responsibility have long ago been outgrown. The government must be reconstructed in the light of present day needs.

The desirability of the city's immediate control of public utilities is no longer in serious question. There remains merely the problem of how control is to be financially and physically achieved.

For years it has been realized that the people of the city should no longer depend upon the machinery of private enterprise to supply their daily food requirements, but the problem has not yet been solved as to how the city may serve itself in this respect, although authority to make a beginning has recently been granted by the legislature.

Before we are fairly started on the question of public food control and distribution the problem of fuel arises, which in the end must be dealt with by community cooperation. As in the case of transportation, fuel, and food, the time is not far away when the people of

the city will wish to take into their own hands the provision of housing facilities, for adequate and economical housing is an indispensable factor in promoting national industrial effectiveness.

Step by step the functions of government will widen as the pressure of public need in particular fields of activity outweighs traditional reliance on private enterprise. With respect to city government the question in the future will be, not as it has been in the past what may the city do under the limitations of its charter and legal authority, but what must the city do under the pressure of public necessity?

A first necessary step to readjust the government to the new standards of public service must be actually to achieve what has been for a generation fruitlessly discussed, complete municipal home rule. That is to say, within the limits of the constitutions of the state and the United States there must be unrestricted power vested in the city electorate to settle for themselves the form and scope of their municipal activities. New York must follow the example of other progressive cities in the United States, and win for itself a charter within the next few months which will enable it to play its part in the readjustment of national life which the new sense of social responsibility in America is compelling. Not only must it win a charter which will enable it to face without evasion the solution of urgent questions of community living, but it must be free to organize its government for effective service. As now constituted the government is incapable of completely effective service because it is organized on the basis of a traditional political theory rather than on the basis of common sense demands for effective administration.

The scope of government must be determined by popular judgment, the method of the execution of policies by a deliberative board, and the execution of these policies by competent executives chosen for skill and proven capacity and retained so long as their services are satisfactory. There is no more costly folly than the periodic dismissal of trained executives because elections commission new policies or select new

spokesmen for the people. Elections may change policies and the ideals of public service, but in most respects details of administration remain as before. Tested administrations should not have their services terminated because of an election when their work has been well performed.

To give vitality to the new desires of the community there must be, I suggest, wider participation in the government by the people. It is not wise or just to rely wholly on elected representatives to carry out community wishes. The community itself must organize to speak and act for itself. The Farmers' Alliance in the West demonstrates the forcefulness of effective citizen organization.

Whether a minority or a majority, a group of citizens have a right in a democracy to work openly for those things which they feel they require as citizens for the welfare of themselves or their fellows. Governments can do little except with the aid of civic cooperation.

What are the urgent needs of the city today? State them. Show how they can be met. Work for their satisfaction and eventually, if public judgment is approving, the end sought will be achieved. This is democracy, and the salvation of democracy is not reliance on the benevolent intentions of governments and on the initiative of officials, but on the intelligence and power of the cooperative effort of democracy itself.

EXCESS PROFITS CONFISCATION

By LOWELL BRENTANO*

Harvard, 1918

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are assembled this morning to consider the political and economic readjustment necessary after this war. It is peculiarly fitting, therefore, that we should consider a phase of war economics,—inasmuch as financing the war is almost as important as fighting it.

I come not to give you any elaborate oration or any polished speech on Socialism, but merely to point out a few vital facts on excess profits confiscation. I wish to show to you some of the workings of the excess profits law, and to prove to you that the allied government should confiscate 100 per cent. of the excess profits of their corporations and manufacturers. This war must not only be fought on a democratic basis,—but it must also be financed on that same basis. Excess profits are just what the name implies;—the excess of profits over the normal profits of pre-war years, or, in other words, excess profits are di-

rectly and indirectly stimulated war profits.

EVILS OF BOND ISSUES

In the past, wars have been financed mostly by bond issues supported by loans. The more money we obtain from loans, the less money we need from other sources. Conversely, the more money we acquire from other sources, the less money we need to secure from loans. I want to point out to you some of the evils inherent in the borrowing system and show you why I believe it wisest to raise the funds necessary for war from other sources.

First, borrowing tends towards an extravagant war. Loan issues swell the currency systems of their respective countries, and this in turn raises prices. "The Economist" reports a gain in prices of a little over 100% between November 1915 and November 1916. The central banks of France and Germany have tripled their note issue since the beginning of the war. All this tends, as I have said, to an era of high prices. On the other hand, taxation, the pay-as-you-enter plan, tends toward economy.

Second, every bond issue France or

* The following clear and thoughtful address was awarded the first prize at the Prize Speaking Contest, held under the auspices of the I. S. S. during the Ninth Annual Convention in New York City.

any other warring country makes increases the purchasing power of France and simultaneously lowers the purchasing power of her citizens. Then France must enter the markets and bid for products against her own citizens, a process of economic warfare which results in a further inflation of prices.

Third, in the course of time,—as the proceeds of a loan approach exhaustion, a larger proportion of the total volume of the purchasing media of the country gets back to the people. This is the pitfall into which Germany has stumbled. Another loan is required,—unless the government is to resort to unlimited issues of paper money. This process of alternate borrowing and spending continues in an endless chain, until a country is bankrupt.

Fourth, the warring countries have all enacted heavy income tax rates and have placed special imposts upon all manner of articles of every day use,—tea, coffee, sugar, stamps, medicine, paper and the like are all heavily taxed. Is it economically just to tax the nation to the bone and yet allow certain manufacturers and tradesmen in that nation to remain in possession of abnormal profits?

Fifth, loan issues do not shift the financial burden to the shoulders of a future generation. Consider this case. A and B are earning three thousand dollars apiece and war breaks out. A relinquishes a salary to fight, B remains at home, economizes, saves a thousand dollars, and invests in war bonds. If A is lucky enough to return with his life, he must devote the remainder of his days to paying increased taxes to the state which the state in turn pays to B as interest on his bond. Is this economically just? Certainly not.

ADVANTAGES OF EXCESS PROFITS CONFISCATION

Let us now consider a method of taxation that is not only free from these disadvantages which I have just outlined, but which offers us many concrete advantages which I shall try to point out to you. Those of us who are unacquainted with the problems of war finance are apt to think of excess profit, confiscation as some visionary theory or some hastily devised war measure. We

oppose excess profits confiscation because we are led to believe it is an emergency, theoretical measure. Such is not the case.

Excess profits taxation was used successfully at the time of the Revolutionary War. Go back to the 1776 annals of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and you will find that, for the three years of the Revolutionary War, the State of Massachusetts successfully confiscated excess profits. In the present war,—a war which has been a crucible to test men and their measures,—but a single change has been made in any excess profits law and that has been to raise the rates upward. Already in the present war, 13 nations are using this method of taxation. So we see, then, that excess profits confiscation has received sanction of successful usage.

Few of us realize the large revenues that can be collected. Great Britain, according to the Bank of England, obtained on her sixty per cent. rate in 1916 a total of seven hundred million dollars. Congress estimates that excess profits in this country aggregate one billion eight hundred million. It collects only 40 per cent. of this sum. France, last year, on her sixty per cent. rate, collected approximately a billion dollars. She left 40 per cent. of these abnormal profits uncollected, yet, on this single tax, she obtained one-sixth of her entire war expenses for that entire year.

SIMPLICITY OF MACHINERY

The value of these large revenues is augmented by the simplicity of their collection. Both bond issues and income taxation require an elaborate and intricate machinery, while excess profits taxation has the virtue well known to economists of collection at the source. According to Professor Sprague of the Harvard Business School, the business activities of England and France have not been in the least checked by the imposition of this tax and business leaders in their respective communities have been loud in their praises of excess profits confiscation as a war measure. When the United States was considering this matter, Mr. Otto Kahn came to Congress as the representative of the great financial interests of the country and told Congress that it was the belief of those

whom he represented that this method of taxation was the most efficient method of financing the war. The state is able to get at large sums of money before this has been divided into individual dribblets of private income. As a war measure, then, excess profits taxation has the advantage of simplicity. The state obtains large revenues with but little red tape.

A NECESSITY FOR DEMOCRACY

Aside from these purely economic advantages, we have many other cogent reasons for a confiscation of excess profits. If this war is being waged to make the world safe for Democracy, it must be conducted upon a Democratic basis. Democracy implies two things, privileges and responsibilities. It is obvious that injustice has been done in the past on this very score. The masses have always felt that they were being exploited by capital,—that capital was using them to pluck its chestnuts from the fire. Class antagonisms have often flared up to the point of revolt. Here is an opportunity, gentlemen, an opportunity for all of the allied nations to prove to the masses that there is no class in the community that will be the richer for war's prolongation. In this way, excess profits taxation directly stimulates the morale of troops. It constitutes unmistakable evidence of the sincerity of the nations involved.

Can we fail to recognize the crying need for a method of taxation which has

withstood the test of successful usage, which yields substantial revenues by collection at the source,—which is essentially democratic in its conception?

We do not claim, ladies and gentlemen, that this tax is a universal panacea. Probably we will always have to have a certain amount of borrowing,—despite the inherent evils of this system. We must continue income taxes and all manner of other imposts upon the luxuries and necessities of life. But we do contend that, as war inevitably separates industry into two groups, one stricken, and the other enriched by the great cataclysm, that it is only fair that the second group should bear the larger proportion of the costs of war. The state will merely appropriate that portion of the profits which, generally speaking, is definitely due to the war. This is both the basis and the justification of our case.

With the industry of our European allies partially paralyzed, with their mineral regions in the hands of the enemy, with the necessities of life being imported to them at exorbitant prices, with 6,000,000 of their youth having made the final sacrifice,—more vital still—with America confronting the same situation, I submit to you that it is not only the privilege but the duty of the allied governments to confiscate not 40 per cent., not 60 per cent., not 80 per cent., but all of the excess profits of their manufacturers and corporations.

“STATE SOCIALISM” IN WAR TIME

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Under the exigencies of war, every belligerent country has assumed a governmental control over the economic life of the nation which, in the piping days of peace, seemed to many upholders of the status quo almost unbelievable. To students of Socialism—the philosophy of democratic collectivism—the extent to which this tendency has developed is of special interest. Let us first briefly survey developments in the United States—the last of the big nations to have en-

tered the war and among the most individualistic of the belligerents.

SHIPPING CONTROL IN THE UNITED STATES

National control in this country has proceeded most rapidly, since April, 1917, in the railroad, shipping, fuel and food industries. The sudden transformation of railroad control is described elsewhere. Some idea of governmental shipping activities may be gleaned from

the First Annual Report of the Shipping Board. In dealing with the work of the Emergency Fleet Federation, the report declares: "The Corporation is now engaged in what is probably the greatest construction task ever attempted by a single institution. The Corporation has 16 offices in various parts of the country. It is supervising the building of 1,118 vessels in 116 shipyards distributed throughout the United States. It is disbursing for the construction of those ships something in excess of a billion dollars per annum. It is controlling substantially all the shipbuilding of the country other than of naval vessels, and its program calls for the completion in 1918 of eight times the tonnage delivered in 1916."

The first action of the government in this industry was the taking over of 91 German ships valued at \$125,000,000 and their use chiefly as transports. On August 4, the Emergency Fleet Corporation requisitioned all of the steel ships of more than 2,500 tons—413 in all—then in the course of construction in 25 of the great shipyards of the country.

The title to vessels owned by foreigners will be retained by the government, although American owners will be permitted, under certain conditions, to regain title. The Shipping Board is, as well, conducting a far-reaching scheme of industrial education.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF FOOD

More spectacular in its nature—though, as yet, far from satisfactory from the standpoint of the radical or of the millions hard pressed by high prices—has been the governmental control of food. The United States definitely entered the ranks of food controllers on August 10, four months after the beginning of the war, when the president signed the Food Administration Act.

Like food acts in all of the countries, this law sought to stimulate production, to reduce the wastes of distribution, to eliminate "unreasonable" profits and to direct a wise consumption.

It gave the president power to purchase, store and sell wheat, flour, meal, beans and potatoes; to regulate the price of coal and coke, as well as the method of production, distribution, and stor-

age; and, if this business should be run inefficiently or in a manner prejudicial to the public interest, to take over plants for operation during the period of the war.

Even more drastic were the powers secured by the president over commodities necessary for the common defense. Food, feed and fuel used in such defense could be requisitioned and proper governmental storage facilities could be provided for them. Factories, packing houses, oil pipe lines, mines and other plants could as well be taken over and operated by the government.

Distilled spirits were prohibited by the act. In consequence, the manufacture of whiskey from grain ceased on September 7. Power was likewise given the president to regulate or prohibit the production of malt or vinous liquors, to license those dealing in certain necessities and to prevent destruction, waste, and monopolizing of commodities.

After the passage of the bill, Herbert C. Hoover was appointed Food Administrator. On August 15, 1917, a \$50,000,000 wheat corporation was formed, with all of the stocks held by the Federal Government, for the purpose of buying and selling wheat at the principal terminals, handling all Allied grain business and conducting the buying for the American government. All futures in wheat were prohibited, and, on August 25, "the Chicago wheat pit, once noted for its turbulence, became as quiet as a country churchyard." Dr. Harry A. Garfield was appointed chairman of the price-fixing committee, which, on August 30, fixed the price of wheat for the United States and her Allies at \$2.20.

The most forward looking step toward buying on an international scale was taken on August 24, when the governments of the United States, Great Britain, France and Russia reached an agreement whereby all purchases in this country for these allied governments would be made by an American Commission, the Purchasing Commission for the War Industries Board. In explaining the disastrous competition formerly prevailing, a press report stated: "In some cases it was found that agents of the allied countries had combed the Western markets for grain months in advance of

any efforts of American buyers, and had large quantities of materials stored awaiting favorable conditions of shipment, while prices went upward in consequence of the steadily increasing scarcity of certain staples." The social implications of such international industrial cooperation may be most significant when peace has been restored. Significant also in this connection is the international sugar commission formed for the purpose of arranging for the distribution of sugar imported from the West Indies and the United States' insular possessions.

The power of license under the Food Control act was exercised on October 10, when the president placed under the license system all dealers in meat, cereal, vegetable, and dairy products doing an annual business of more than \$100,000. This order became effective November 1. All licensed dealers are henceforth expected to limit their prices to a reasonable amount over expenses and to forbid the acquisition of speculative profits from a rising market; to keep all food commodities moving to the consumer in as direct a line and with as little delay as practicable; and to limit, as far as practicable, contracts for future delivery.

PRICE FIXING OF FUEL

A further industry subjected to national control—chiefly, however, as related to price and shipment,—is that of fuel. The government obtained considerable control over coal and coke with the passage of the Food Control Act.

On August 20, Robert S. Lovett, designated the Federal Agent under the Priority Shipments Act, directed forty-six railroads to give coal shipments from the mines of the North West precedence over other business. On the following day, the president issued a sweeping order fixing the base price of bituminous coal in all of the big producing districts at approximately \$2 a ton, this price being afterwards increased 45c. a ton. On August 23, Dr. Harry A. Garfield was named Coal Administrator. Dr. Garfield fixed the price of anthracite at the mine at from \$4 to \$5.30 a ton, depending on the grade, and announced that jobbers handling coal could not charge a commission of more than from 15c. to 30c. a ton. In December Dr.

Garfield expressed it as his opinion that the taking over of the local supply by the government was inevitable.

There are further interesting governmental developments—such, for instance as insurance, which cannot be described here for lack of space.

But the one act of the Fuel Administration that stirred the whole country as did no other event since the early days of April, 1917, was the ultimatum of Dr. Garfield that, beginning with January 18, the nation's factories must close for five days and that Mondays be regarded as holidays for the succeeding nine or ten weeks. This order brought down upon the government wholesale attacks from those newspapers which had, a short time before, denounced almost all variety of Socialist and radical criticism of the administration as deep-dyed sedition.

At present writing, the lack of co ordination between the many scores of governmental bodies; the monopoly prices paid by the government for some of its supplies; the insufficient technical experience of many controllers of huge equipment of many controllers of huge governmental enterprises; the very considerable influence exerted, within and without the governmental machinery, by representatives of special privilege, keen to block any move that might permanently uproot that privilege; the failure of such men as Hoover to reach effectively numbers of profiteers and to make a drive at some of the worst wastes of distribution; and the neglect of the government to provide for proper representation for the workers in public employ, have prevented American war collectivism from fulfilling its possibilities. Nevertheless, that collectivism has undoubtedly saved the nation millions that would otherwise have been exacted by unregulated capitalism, and has made a start toward a reduction in competitive wastes. Extensive plans for improvement in certain of these regards are, however, promised for the near future.

IN ENGLAND

War collectivism has also grown apace in England, since the beginning of the war, especially in connection with railroads, mines and the food supply. One of the first acts of the government in

early August, 1914, was to place a governmental commission in charge of the railroads, for the purpose of unifying control during the period of the war.

Owing to high prices and labor disputes, the government, on December 1, 1916, assumed control of all coal mines in South Wales and Monmouthshire, a committee, consisting of representatives of the Board of Trade, the Home Office and the Admiralty being appointed to administer the mines. Three months later, the government decided to take charge of all coal mines in the United Kingdom for the duration of the war, and a department was organized for their operation.

The conservation of food by the government in Great Britain has been stricter than in this country, though less rigorous than is found in Germany. The direction taken by collectivist activity was determined, to a considerable extent, by the insular position of that country. In October, 1914, the United Kingdom purchased no less than 900,000 tons of sugar, which it sold to refiners, at the same time fixing a maximum price to consumers. During the three years of the war, it secured control successively of the wheat supplies from India, Australia and Canada, and, since 1915, has cooperated extensively with the French and Italian wheat commissions in the purchase of that important necessity. Later, also, it took similar control over rice and corn.

Undoubtedly the most important step toward the control of the food supply was taken more than two years after the beginning of the war, in November, 1916, when the Board of Trade was given power to requisition supplies, enter and cultivate land, regulate the manufacture, sale and use of articles, and prevent their waste and destruction. The next development was the appointment of a food controller, who was given the various powers of the Board of Trade. In April, 1917, the controller was authorized by Parliament to obtain possession of any factory, workshop or premise engaged in the preparation of food. The same month announcement was made that all flour mills of any considerable size would be taken over by the government. The Minister of Munitions

was also given entire control over all fats, oil and oilseed.

Production of commodities was greatly increased as a result of the cultivation of additional thousands of acres and the development of vegetable gardening. In order to conserve grain, the output of beer was limited to 10,000,000 barrels as against 26,000,000 the previous year.

Other efforts are being made to limit consumption of food, such, for instance, as the proclaiming of meatless days, the prohibition of the use of pastries and the regulation of the use of other commodities, while maximum and minimum prices are fixed on numerous commodities.

There is little compulsory rationing, except in regard to sugar, though all public eating places are apportioned a specified amount of meat, flour, bread and sugar on the basis of the number of customers.

England has, as well, since the beginning of the war, appropriated \$50,000,000 for the establishment of a dye research laboratory; has established a new governmental department for the encouragement of scientific and industrial research; has gone extensively into state insurance, assuming all risks at a flat rate of insurance and has requisitioned much of its merchant marine.

The housing situation has recently become so acute that the government has also been compelled to become a house builder on a large scale. Immediately after the outbreak of the war (August 10), it appropriated nearly \$10,000,000 for the construction of houses for governmental employees or workmen on government contracts, and \$20,000,000 for the building of houses in urban communities and the lending of money to other bodies for that purpose. While the government has kept most of its work in this direction a secret—as the building has been in the vicinities of armament plants—the secretary of the Garden City and Town Planning Association recently asserted “that when the time comes for a record to be placed before the world of what has been done in this regard, it will be a revelation.”

An illustration of its work may be seen at Well Hall, near the Woolwich Arsenal, where it has built some 1600

houses of a permanent type, and has erected stores, halls, schools and other public buildings, as well as central kitchens, laundries and churches.

In an act passed nearly a year after the beginning of the war, the authorities were also empowered to take possession of any unoccupied land for the purpose of housing workmen employed in certain government work. An interesting feature of this act was a clause forbidding the government in the purchase of the land from paying for unearned increments or decrements created since the beginning of the war by any party not interested in the land. Laws restricting the raising of rent have likewise been passed. Extensive experimentation has as well been made in shipping, insurance and other industries.

In speaking of the effect of the war on collectivism in England, Mr. Sidney Webb makes this significant statement:

"To speak only of this country, the war has brought us appreciably nearer to the nationalization of the railways, canals, and coal supply, if not also of merchant shipping. Agriculture will not escape some local and experimental national intervention, for discharged soldiers and otherwise. The government will inevitably be driven to reclaim for collective administration a quite unexpectedly large proportion of the tribute incomes of rent and interest that the landlords and capitalists fondly thought to be their own. The public control of mobile capital (which will certainly not again be quite free to flow whither it pleases), and of such requisites of increased national production as indispensable minerals, the plant and organization of 'key industries' and 'essential trades,' is evidently destined to be greatly increased. Finally, although the government will long feel poor, the conviction that the nation must augment its virility will lead to a steady development of the collective provision for maternity, infancy, and the physical as well as the mental training of youth, if only to insure that as small a proportion of the population as possible shall be found to be non-effective in the hour of national strain. From this point of view, both the prevention of accidents and disease, and the adequate treatment of sickness, plainly impossible to the individual, will acquire a new importance. In short, merely as a means of national security, the coming generation is going to see a rapid increase in collective ownership and administration, in collective regulations, in collective taxation, and in collective provision. But this was defined a quarter of a century ago as the 'Fourfold Path' of 'Socialism itself!'"

The economist John A. Hobson believes that "the war will have advanced State Socialism by half a century."

GERMAN CONTROL

As was to be expected, war collectivism has found its most ardent advocates in Germany, which, prior to the war, had advanced further along the path of collective endeavor than any other country in Europe. It is undoubtedly this collectivism which has done more than any other one factor to keep the economic life of Germany intact under the tremendous strain of the last few years. As in other countries, in grappling with the food problem, the German government has sought to increase production of necessities, to eliminate waste, profiteering and inequality in distribution and to limit consumption.

In the country's attempt to increase the production of essentials, the food controller has been given power to direct the planting of crops and to utilize waste land. In pursuance of the second object, the government has developed the most elaborate machinery. Thirty or forty government corporations have been organized, possessing capital stock derived from the state and holding the right of monopoly over the particular commodities with which they deal. The food controller is privileged to confiscate the products of the soil, plant and animal. All middlemen between wholesaler and consumer have been eliminated, dealers in foodstuffs are required to secure licenses before they are allowed to do business, and no more wholesalers or retailers are licensed than the business seems to demand. Increase of price by indirection has been made a penal offense. Food advertisements have been closely restricted. Since the latter part of 1916, communal authorities have seized and apportioned between the locality and the imperial bureau all butter produced in the larger dairies, while all live stock is now confiscated and its delivery to the market controlled.

For the actual consumption of food, many cities have established civic kitchens. There are 11 such kitchens in Berlin, with 62 subsidiary stations, which dispense simple meals for from eight to ten cents, and give meals free to poor school children. Of late, cards have been

issued apportioning the amount of bread, sugar, potatoes, eggs, milk, butter, meat, fats etc., to which each person is entitled.

In 1915, Germany also established a monopoly of all nitrogenous material for a period of seven years. "This is probably the first instance in history," writes the chronicler, "of a government using the atmosphere as a source of money."

IN ITALY AND FRANCE

The activities of the Italian cities since the beginning of the war have been noteworthy. Rome has established no less than 160 municipal bakeries for the selling of bread, besides many meat markets and stores for the distribution of potatoes, macaroni, noodles, rice and beans. It has sold, at low prices, as many as 80,000 eggs a day, and is daily importing, pasteurizing and selling over 12,000 quarts of milk. This control has helped materially to keep prices down, the average advance in prices being, until a few months ago, but 18c., a lower increase than that evidenced in any other city of Italy. In its control of meat, fish, flour and bread, Milan saved to the citizens from the beginning of the war, until May, 1916, about \$375,000. Genoa has followed suit in numerous activities. The municipalities have here generally worked hand in hand with the cooperative stores.

Unique among the ventures of the federal government of Italy has been the shoe industry. In tackling the agricultural situation, Italy has required farmers, for a reasonable compensation, to lend their labor force and machinery to neighbors in need. The Minister of the Interior has here the power of food controller. Grains are bought and sold without a profit by community associations, of which the municipalities are prominent members.

France has adopted regulations somewhat similar to England, although its control has been less thorough and systematic. It has devoted much attention to agriculture, and has pooled small agricultural holdings, and loaned considerable sums of money to farmers in invaded territories for the purchase of farm equipment. In other respects, its activities have been largely regulatory. Non-belligerent countries, such as Den-

mark, have, as well, been forced far in the direction of state ownership or control.

LESSONS FROM WAR COLLECTIVISM

War collectivism has demonstrated to the ordinary citizen more strikingly than ever before the truth of certain contentions urged for many years by the Socialist.

1. It has proved the wastefulness of competition in our transportation, food, mining and other industries. In times of peace, competitive wastes were ignored by most citizens. With the constant destruction of vast quantities of materials on the battlefield, with the immensely increased demand for the production of commodities not needed in times of peace, it has become ever more imperative to resort to the most efficient method of producing and distributing life's necessities, if the people are to be fed, clothed, and sheltered. This necessity has led many of the most ardent upholders of competition to ignore all of their theories concerning the greater efficiency of a private competitive system and to advocate collectivist action as the most effective method of eliminating waste. And, as Norman Angell puts it, with this change, "we have witnessed economic miracles. With something like half the workers, and that half the best, drawn from production, the remainder can not only maintain the life of the country at a standard which is materially better on the whole than that which obtained before the war, but they can supply the vast quantity of material needed for the war itself. An obvious conclusion is that if the present workers, instead of being engaged upon mountains of shells and war materials, to be immediately destroyed, were engaged upon the production of things which made for the common welfare; and if to that source of increase were added the labor of those now under arms, the amount of wealth available for distribution, if properly distributed, would create a standard of living in the country so different in degree from the old as to be different in kind. It is universally admitted that before the war no economist would have pronounced what has actually occurred as possible."

2. The recent development shows

that there are tens of thousands of the best intellects of the nations who can be depended on to devote their services to the community in its industrial enterprises for a moderate compensation, if they are but convinced of the genuine need of such service.

3. The bureaucratic conduct of much of the "State Socialism" indicates the absolute need of the creation of some machinery which will give adequate representation to the workers in governmental industry. Latest ventures in collectivism also indicate the necessity of developing a strong, militant labor movement on the economic and political fields if democratic and internationalist ends are to be subserved.

AFTER THE WAR

After the war, much of this public control will undoubtedly be discontinued, and attempts to obtain further collectivism will doubtless be fought on the ground that the government is already overburdened with debt and is therefore in no position to socialize additional industries. Special privilege will, furthermore, endeavor to take advantage of the temporary spirit of ennui inevitably following strenuous exertions in war time to push back the rising tide of public operation. However, there will be very definite forces at work leading toward further social effort.

War's destruction of raw material will make the population more concerned than formerly to conserve the

resources that are still intact. The necessity of rebuilding destroyed towns and industries, of caring for the sick, maimed and dependents and of paying off the war debt will place a greatly increased burden on the workers, and will lead them to oppose a return to profiteering and wasteful competition.

The workers themselves will, in most of the countries, be in a stronger political position than before the war. Having risked their lives "to make the world safe for democracy," they will be likely to demand an ever greater degree of economic democracy at home. The masses will as well become ever more conscious of the fact that the system of private ownership, with its low wages and consequent small consuming power for the workers and its huge masses of surplus capital, seeking profitable investment in undeveloped countries, has been one of the chief causes of economic imperialism and war. This recognition will undoubtedly strengthen the demand for further public control.

The function of the radical in this movement is to assist in every way in making whatever public ownership we may develop efficient, democratic and internationalist in its nature, and in securing an ever greater degree of industrial democracy, not as an end in itself, but as a means of bringing about equal opportunity for the highest physical, mental and moral development of mankind.

OUR NINTH CONVENTION

An eager searching after what—from the standpoint of fundamental democracy—should be the next developments in our municipal, national and international policy characterized the Ninth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, held in New York City from Thursday to Saturday, December 27 to 29, 1917. The Convention throughout, attended by a half hundred delegates from Harvard, Radcliffe, Clark, Yale, Vas-

sar, Syracuse, Columbia, Barnard, C. C. N. Y., Adelphi, Hunter, Brooklyn Law, Pittsburgh, Wisconsin and other colleges, and many hundreds of students and alumni, fully maintained, and, in several particulars, surpassed similar gatherings of former years.

THE DINNER

Of greatest interest to the public at large, was the Annual Dinner, held Thursday evening, December 27, at

the Palm Garden, on the subject of "The Next Development in National Policy."

Norman Angell, whose address appears elsewhere, in his usual trenchant style, upheld the thesis that radicals should make their most vigorous drive in the direction of democratizing the peace conference. Louis B. Boudin was of the opinion that a frank statement of allied terms and active assistance to struggling Russia at the present time were of the utmost importance. He declared:

"Russia is where she is to-day because she has been driven there by the Allies, including the United States of America. It seems that Germany has a vested interest in the stupidity of allied diplomats."

"Our duty is to explain to the statesmen the need for a definition of terms. It makes a great difference to us, and to Russia, whether or not we manage to keep Russia with us until a general peace is proclaimed, so that she may give us something of the spirit that will lead to a better world. Save the Russian revolution for Russia, for the Allies, and for the world."

Mr. Boudin also defended the position of the Socialists on the war, and declared that a minority that says to those in power, "You do as we want, and we will support you," is more likely to force radical reforms than those who declare, "We will support you. Now we want you to grant us certain concessions."

Dr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration and Chairman of the dinner, declared that the chief cause of international conflicts was economic in its nature—a desire to obtain fields for investment for surplus capital. He asserted that, after the war, our task should be so to reorganize our economic system as to give to the workers essentially the product of their toil. This would make impossible the great masses of surplus commodities and surplus capital constantly seeking markets and investment in undeveloped lands.

THE NEED OF DEMOCRACY IN WAR TIME

Dr. Frank Bohn, who precluded his address by a vigorous statement in support of the present war, commented on the fact that, when, a few days before,

he prepared his excerpt for the press, he had mentioned the nationalization of the railroads as one of the next steps in national policy, but that national control, at least, had now become an accomplished fact. He said in part:

"Following the railroads the other industries in their order which should be made public are the mining of coal and metals and the distribution of food. For the five months of last summer, from May to September, Butte, Montana, turned out 40 per cent. of its possible produce of copper. The workers were willing to perform their duty to the nation, but the owners and managers of the mines would not permit them to work. As regards the mining of coal, were the nation to take over the coal industry, the president could, without arousing distrust, call upon the coal miners to work overtime. If the miners were assured that their work was of great national service, I am positive that they could double the output of coal within three months' time."

Dr. Bohn insisted that production would, furthermore, be greatly increased if the coal miners and the railroad workers were given a degree of control over the operation of industries by placing their representatives on the boards of management in Washington. He continued:

"In this connection I wish to discuss briefly the I. W. W. The I. W. W. is simply the wild and ferocious cry of that portion of the wage-working army which is the most inhumanly treated of all. Its work is casual. Its starvation and suffering is perpetual. The army of casual workers west of Chicago and St. Louis numbers at least half a million strong. This labor force occupies a position in our industrial life vital to the winning of the war. Its every reaction through the I. W. W.—sabotage, refusal to make contracts—all this is the natural and inevitable result of the social conditions of this class. The reply of the national government to the organized protest of the I. W. W. has been to aid the employing class, the mining trusts and the lumber trusts, in hounding these workers from pillar to post."

"Two months ago I had a long talk with William D. Haywood, then, as now, behind prison bars in Chicago. He is incarcerated, because he is accused by the Attorney General of accepting German aid in organizing strikes. This accusation I know to be absolutely false. Haywood is, and has been from the first, pro-Ally. He knows that a declaration of that fact would not be believed. Neither did he deem it his duty, nor the duty of his organization, to proclaim their loyalty to the government

from the house-tops while the government was engaged in helping their employers break strikes."

The speaker also assailed the action of government officials in withdrawing second-class privileges from the New York Volkszeitung, "anti-Kaiser every day of its existence for forty years."

Dr. Bohn concluded with a plea for greater democracy in our educational system. "The management of the schools," he declared, "should be largely under the control of the teachers." He also urged that we teach health in the schools and place the means of health within the reach of all.

Charlotte Perkins Gilman urged a more extensive social ownership, a federation of nations, a just peace and stricter regulation of immigration as next steps. She said in part:

"Our internal policy should be to develop a keen intelligent national consciousness, through action; an understanding and practice of democracy, universal and compulsory. Citizenship should be taught to and practised by all citizens, male and female, from childhood.

"Our special problem of immigration should be handled with a view to the rapid and thorough nationalization of all newcomers. If not willing to be citizens their stay and their numbers should be limited. Furthermore, the incoming citizens should be limited to such annual numbers as we can wisely and justly train and place. To adopt a child is as responsible an undertaking as to rear one's own. We have neglected our duty in social parentage.

"As an essential of national progress, we should develop the socialization of capital and industry, municipal and federal ownership and management, universal employment bureaus to facilitate the mobilization of labor—the whole program of economic justice for every class of workers.

"Our policy in co-operation with others should be to promote as rapidly as possible a federation of nations, such as will be able to maintain peace and justice upon earth. We should bring to this union not only proposals for immediate action in regard to war and peace, but a practical program for continued operation in mutual service, which alone can maintain such a world federation in healthful growth. Government is service, a world government must work in world service, continuously, not merely as a check on warfare.

"Such international relationship and activity can come only through nations. The name "inter-nationalist" is now most ab-

surdly used by persons who voluntarily denationalize themselves and seek by a widespread inter-individualist movement to reach ends which can only be attained by nations. Federation is a political name for organization, and increasing organization is the law of social progress.

"When we take part in the decisions upon right after the war, we should stand solidly for justice: justice to all the suffering victim countries, justice to unhappy Russia, newly born and struggling through inevitable mistakes; justice to all the defending belligerents; and justice, full and careful justice, to Germany and her allies. We should be clear and strong and wise; acting not merely for peace nor for punishment, but for the best further development of humanity."

THE FUTURE OF THE CITY

The meeting of Saturday night, on "The Future of the City," at the People's House, dealt chiefly with the immediate developments in municipal policy. The admirable address of Henry Bruere, former City Chamberlain of New York, is given elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Bruere urged municipal control of public facilities, fuel, food, housing and municipal home rule. Harry W. Laidler substituted for Morris Hillquit, who was suffering from a severe cold, and gave an address on "The Socialist Conception of the City." Helen Phelps Stokes presided.

RUSSIA AND THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM

The Friday evening meeting at the Civic Club was in the form of a reception to the visiting delegates. Rose Pastor Stokes, who was prevented from presiding through illness, wrote a stirring letter dealing with the Russian situation. The letter, in part, was as follows:

"Every lover of humanity and every fighter for liberty thrills to the name of Russia to-day; Russia, the wounded, bleeding but undaunted standard-bearer of the world's social-democracy!

"The dark forces of Dollar Diplomacy in America who parade in the subsidized press as upholders of law and order, but who are in truth upholders of any order that makes one unearned dollar "earn" another, are trying to impress the American mind with a thousand lying slanders against Russia—for no other reason than because Russia is overthrowing the law of the Unearned Dollar.

"There are clear indications that Imperialism, in every country, is joining hands with Imperialism in every other country to discourage and defeat humanity's standard-bearer, and to trample in the dust her banner. And it is the signal for all the forces of liberty and social-democracy the world over to join hands for the defeat of Imperialism in whatever country and by whatever name it may go, and to give hope and courage to glorious Russia, who is struggling with inward vision (though sometimes blinded by blood and tears) to show us and all the groping peoples of the world, the way—the way out.

"Sang Vachel Lindsey a little while ago:

"All the peoples of the earth, little folk and great,

"Are marching through the Russian soul
as through a city gate.

"Now the few among the peoples of the earth, who have settled on the backs of the many, are trying to shut that gate. Will the many let them? Soon the answer will come thundering across seas, over continents, from land to land, from creed to creed, from race to race, and color to color, till all who have suffered under whatever form of tyranny, shall have helped to swell the answer: No!

"Now is the time, Comrades in the Common Cause of Social-Democracy, to let our voices swell the answer coming from England, France, Germany, the answer that Empire must give way to the Russian program—which is the program of the world's peoples, not its rulers, and that that 'gate' through which we all must pass shall remain wide open to the eager peoples of the earth!"

THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA

Algernon Lee, the leader of the group of seven recently elected aldermen on the Socialist ticket in New York, declared that the Marxian conception of development had been more and more justified by events. He dwelt upon the internationalist character of Socialism and asserted that a decisive victory of the working class would come in the near future. He continued:

"We have entered on a period of worldwide social revolution which will last but a few years and in which the struggle for power between capital and labor will be fought out.

"The war has brought an increasing degree of social control of the processes of production. Such control is not necessarily Socialistic. Another side is necessary, namely democracy. Democracy is a dynamic thing and necessitates a class struggle. We have read without astonishment that the United States is to control the railroads. The program is inevitable, be-

cause competitive capitalism cannot stand war conditions.

"The next step is for the workers to control the government, as the ruling class, as such, cannot be wise enough to rule others. There are tremendous forces making for peace and social revolution, in all nations. Men and women in America are more eager than ever to join and be active in the Socialist movement."

Dr. Frank Bohn urged that collegians interested in Socialism avoid bitter controversy which, at times, has been the curse of the Socialist movement. He compared the members of the Socialist Party with the abolitionist intellectuals prior to the Civil War who knew little of the real spirit of the times. He urged the students interested in Socialism to preserve the philosophical attitude of mind and not to bind themselves too closely to any party and declared that, in his belief, the Socialist movement, as such, would always be but a part of a greater democratic movement.

Dr. Scott Nearing dealt with what he considered to be the prospects of the Socialist Party in the 1918 Congressional Campaign. He said in part:

"The November, 1918, election will be the first big opportunity of the Socialists. What is the opening for the Socialist Party? There have recently been immense gains in the Socialist vote. The task of the party is now to educate people to the point of being good propagandists, after showing them why they are in the party. All over the country miniature Rand Schools are being formed for this purpose and this is of great promise.

"The administration is making the mistake of putting young radicals into prison. They will come out confirmed radicals. The government is really organizing radicals. The chance of the radicals to slip in as candidates in doubtful districts is excellent."

Dr. Nearing also dwelt upon the necessity of bringing about fundamental readjustments. He continued:

"The Socialist Party in the next election has to deal with three particular groups of people: The first of these forces is the Non-Partisan League. Three-fourths of this league are Socialists. It is making the attempt to create farming class-consciousness against the capitalist and has made its appeal to the better class of tenants and farmers. The second force is the unskilled worker in industry which furnishes the basis for the I. W. W. The I. W. W. spirit will spread unless every one who has I. W. W. tendencies is killed. It is a mass-

consciousness. Third, there is the American Federation of Labor—the aristocracy of labor. They are promising to break loose from the Democratic Party. The Socialist movement must be a political movement, a political opportunity, a chance for expression for these different groups offered in a way that these groups will understand.”

Dr. Nearing also declared that the Socialists must have their own newspapers and educational systems and movies and own the film-making houses.

Archibald Craig urged a revision of Marxian economics, while George Goebel spoke briefly from the standpoint of one who had disagreed with the majority report at St. Louis, but who had remained in the Party because he felt that it was the one organization fighting for free speech, free press, and other democratic issues. Nicholas Kelley presided.

REPORT OF THE YEAR'S WORK

The first business session of the Convention was held on Thursday afternoon, December 27, at Miss Stokes's Studio, 90 Grove Street. Harry W. Laidler, the Secretary of the Society, summarized the year's activities, in part, as follows:

“This year's work may conveniently be divided into Spring and Fall activities. In the Spring, the Society was especially active in field work. Mr. Spargo made a three-months' trip to the Pacific Coast, under the auspices of the Society, speaking in twenty-nine colleges in seventeen states, and addressing from twenty-five to thirty thousand collegians, in numerous college chapels and economic classes. In addition to this, he lectured before some twenty thousand townspeople. The trip was one of the most successful conducted under the auspices of the Society.

“The Secretary made three trips, from February to May, 1917, a short one to Syracuse and Rochester, a four weeks' trip among colleges of New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where he spoke before some three thousand students in fifteen colleges, addressing fifteen classes, and three chapel audiences; and a further trip among the colleges of Massachusetts and Maine. Irwin Tucker, for a while the Middle West organizer, addressed some two thousand students, in a dozen colleges in Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. His talks were most favorably received. Gardner L. Harding conducted a successful New England trip and many other prominent speakers lectured in various colleges.

“The Society has continued its research work. Partly as a result of the suggestion of the Society, Mr. Walling and Mr. Laidler edited ‘State Socialism, Pro and Con.’ The volume contains a great amount of valuable material on the progress of the movement toward public ownership throughout the world. The Society also issued Mrs. Perky's pamphlet on ‘Co-operation in the United States.’

Autumn Conference

“The most valuable work of the Society during the Summer, was the Autumn Conference at Bellport, L. I. Among the able speakers at the Conference were Norman Angell, Roger N. Baldwin, Louis B. Boudin, John J. Dillon, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Crystal Eastman, Richard W. Hogue, James W. Johnson, Professor Ellen Hayes, Florence Kelley, Richard Kitchelt, Senator Henri La Fontaine, Harry W. Laidler, Isaac Don Levine, Algernon Lee, Dr. Chas. McCarthy, Dr. Geo. W. Nasmyth, Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, Mary W. Ovington, Lajpat Rai, A. J. Sack, John Spargo, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Ordway Tead, Rev. Norman M. Thomas, Alex. Trachtenberg, Dr. James P. Warbasse, Dr. Walter E. Weyl and others.

“This Fall the work of the Society was somewhat handicapped by the fact that many of its most active members failed to return to the colleges, while an increased burden was placed upon those who did return. However, in spite of the discouraging effect of the war on actual organization, the interest in Socialism is greater than ever before. The sweep toward public ownership in all warring countries, the various political revolutions evidenced in Europe, the persistent activities of the Socialists in behalf of peace and democracy, the high cost of living, and the remarkable growth of the Socialist Party have greatly stimulated interest and many successful meetings have been held by such Chapters as C. C. N. Y., Columbia, Barnard, Yale, Cornell, Harvard, Wisconsin, etc. Wellesley, after several attempts, has finally obtained permission to affiliate with the I. S. S.

“The Society this Fall was particularly fortunate in securing the services of Ordway Tead as Director of the Research Bureau.

Statistics of Chapters

“Sixteen colleges filed out and returned their I. S. S. questionnaires to the Society. These questionnaires showed a membership among the 16 of approximately 580. Of these 209 were said to be Socialists, 210 non-Socialists and 35 anti-Socialists. C. C. N. Y. led in membership. There are in this college 200 members of the Social Problems Club, all of whom, however, do not belong to the I. S. S. Yale gives a membership of 55, Radcliffe 46, Columbia 40 and Barnard 32. Six colleges contain

between 20 and 30 students, including Adelphi, Harvard, Ohio State, Vassar, Syracuse and Wisconsin; five colleges, between 10 and 20, including Cornell, Missouri, Pittsburgh, Clark and Howard. The majority of the students in Adelphi, Barnard, Cornell and Ohio State Chapters are reported as Socialists. In the C. C. N. Y. Chapter there are an equal number of Socialists and non-Socialists. Vassar and Yale lead in proportion of non-Socialist students, Vassar stating that only one is a Socialist out of 30, although this may mean party members. Yale mentioned 6 Socialists to 49 non-Socialists. Radcliffe and Pittsburgh also reported a preponderance of non-Socialists.

"Five Chapters hold 4 meetings a month, 8 two meetings and 3, one meeting. C. C. N. Y. Chapter has the largest attendance at its study meetings, from 40 to 50, and the largest average of public attendance, from 400 to 500. Yale, Vassar and Columbia report large meetings. The Chapters around Harvard have adopted a course suggested by Mr. Crook dealing with Enlightened Capitalism, State Socialism and Industrial Socialism. Adelphi has as its textbook Hillquit's 'Socialism in Theory and Practice'; Syracuse, the I. S. S. Study Course. Cornell has adopted a course of its own, giving a survey of Utopian, Marxian and present-day Socialism. Missouri is tracing the historical development of Socialism and the reaction of the present war on the Socialist movement. Pittsburgh takes up no definite course, but attempts to deal with current topics. Vassar is also tracing the effect of the war on Socialist tendencies.

"Adelphi and Barnard declare that their greatest needs are anti-Socialists among their membership. Columbia thinks that a club-house situated in New York to be used by undergraduate and Alumni members of the I. S. S. would be most helpful. Cornell declares its chief need to be a single competent man who has time to devote to the activities of the I. S. S. Chapter. Several Chapters, including Harvard, Ohio State, Pittsburgh, Radcliffe and Wisconsin, state the need of good speakers adaptable to college audiences. Harvard believes that an I. S. S. monthly magazine would be of considerable help. The University of Missouri Chapter asserts that tolerance and an understanding of the I. S. S. group are the chief needs in Columbia, Missouri. Membership is a crying need of the Ohio State Chapter with a membership of but 25. Radcliffe feels the necessity of more publicity and sustained interest which, however, is increasing. The Yale Chapter wants suggestions for an appeal which will break down the apathy of the Yale undergraduates. The 23 I. S. S. Chapters that did not report have a membership of approximately 300. This totals the undergraduate membership, as far as it can be learned at the present time, to about 900.

I. S. S. Opportunity

"With the increasing interest in Socialism that is seen everywhere, on account of the various revolutionary changes taking place in society, the I. S. S. Chapters, during the next year, should be centers of intellectual ferment in undergraduate life. It is important that the I. S. S. members keep before them the purpose of the Society, that of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism; that they do not endeavor to turn their groups into pro-war or anti-war, pro-conscription or anti-conscription organizations. The task of throwing a flood of light on economic injustices, on the significance of the labor movement and on the various tendencies throughout the world toward cooperation and industrial democracy is no small task at the present time and to do this task justice requires all of the enthusiasm, all the devotion, all the scholarship of members of the I. S. S. groups. It is hoped that the various Chapters will continue to make their organizations free forums for the discussion of various phases of Socialism; that they will make a special endeavor to get into their membership non-Socialists and anti-Socialists and will see to it that the groups be not exclusive, intellectual clubs which have lost contact with the rest of the college body, but that their influence permeate the entire undergraduate body. If one plan of study, discussion and lectures, fails to appeal to more than a handful, it might be well for each Chapter to find out what is the trouble with their methods and, if consistent with the ideals of the Society, endeavor to adapt them to the psychology of the student body. This, however, does not mean that scholarly discussion be taboo and that the students concentrate on spectacular endeavors. For spectacular efforts are not in the long run likely to be a permanent asset to a Chapter, especially if adopted at the present time. However, new approaches may constantly be made to solutions through discussion of the high cost of living, socialization of a particular industry, etc. While these subjects will have a popular appeal they will as well lead to fundamental thinking.

"Let us realize as never before that a mastery of the facts of industrial democracy will do more than any other thing to fit the college men and women for the life of to-morrow. The next great struggle in human affairs is bound to be the struggle for the control by the people of their own industrial life. Those who grasp the real significance of that struggle and who constructively think through the various problems presenting themselves therein are thus equipping themselves to become pioneers in leading humanity to the nobler, juster and more brotherly world that will finally emerge out of the travail of to-day."

DISCUSSION OF CHAPTER PROBLEMS

Following the Secretary's report, and the roll call, various Chapter problems were discussed. Ordway Tead, Director of the Research Bureau of the I. S. S., told of the work that had thus far been done along research lines by the Society and outlined the plans for the coming year. The Bureau is giving much time to the study of the railroad problem, as well as the effect of the war on labor. Mr. Tead declared that the Bureau could use a number of volunteer workers among the undergraduates and alumni on specific problems. A. Epstein, of the University of Pittsburgh, 1917, stated that he had just completed a survey of the "Negro Problem in Pittsburgh," begun by the I. S. S. Chapter.

Mrs. Strobell gave a vivid word picture of the Autumn Conference and urged all collegians who possibly could be present at the 1918 gathering.

Louise Adams Grout, secretary of the New York Alumni Chapter, told of the possibilities of alumni groups, urged students, when they graduated, to endeavor to establish such groups in their respective cities, and extended an invitation to the students to attend the Saturday Camaraderie of the Chapter on December 29.

"How to Arrange Public and Discussion Meetings" was ably discussed by J. Liebstein, C. C. N. Y., 1918, Adele Franklin, Barnard, 1918, Clarence Hotson, Cornell, 1918, Wm. Foster, Howard Medical, and J. B. Aronoff, Columbia.

Mr. Liebstein declared that the C. C. N. Y. Chapter made a practice of sending personal invitations to their professors to attend lectures, with a request that they announce the meetings in their class rooms. A number of club artists drew posters for the bulletin boards and a good deal of personal work was done by the members prior to the meeting. The Chapter also secured as much publicity as possible in the daily college paper. There were two kinds of gatherings, the large public meetings,

which were attended by many hundreds, and smaller discussion meetings addressed by competent speakers. At the latter, the chief feature was the questions and answers following the regular addresses. Other speakers told of the successful meetings in their respective institutions.

INTER-CHAPTER COOPERATION

The important subject of "Inter-Chapter Cooperation" was discussed by Boris Stern, Harvard, 1918, Beatrice Jones, Radcliffe, 1918, and Wm. M. Weinstein, C. C. N. Y., 1920. Mr. Stern told of the formation of the Greater Boston Intercollegiate League, comprising I. S. S. groups from Harvard, Radcliffe, M. I. T., Boston University, Tufts and Wellesley. This League holds joint meetings at various colleges, to which members of various Chapters are invited.

Through the courtesy of the C. C. N. Y. Chapter and the authorities of the College, the Convention convened Friday morning in the Main Building of C. C. N. Y., and continued the discussion of Chapter problems. A committee was appointed consisting of delegates from the study groups at Columbia, Barnard, C. C. N. Y., Adelphi, Hunter, and Brooklyn Law to meet at an early date, and organize a Greater New York Inter-Chapter League. The first large meeting of the League will be a supper to be held on Friday, February 15, at which Professor James H. Robinson, of Columbia, Edwin Markham and Dr. Scott Nearing will speak and Vida Milholland will sing.

Numerous suggestions were made regarding methods of conducting study courses, by E. F. Reed of Clark, post-graduate, Dora Shapiro of Adelphi, 1918, Laura Teitlebaum of Syracuse, 1918, Frank Tannenbaum of Columbia, Ordway Tead, Amherst, 1912, and others.

The discussion brought out the necessity of touching on the more recent activities of the Socialist movement, as well as the more theoretical phases. Mr. Tead had some intensely interesting things to say regarding the psychology of discussion, and urged that

a study be made of the best condition under which Chapter discussion might be carried on.

R. McCants Andrews, Harvard Law, described methods whereby those desiring to forward Socialism in the various colleges can co-operate effectively with other organizations.

Charles Schneider of Brooklyn Law School and Louise Ross of Hunter College told of the difficulties they were encountering in their respective institutions in securing recognition from the authorities. Among other topics discussed were a monthly for the Society and undergraduate representation for the I. S. S.

Besides those mentioned above as taking part in the various discussions, other delegates who gave valuable suggestions were: Sophie Amson, Barnard; R. E. Carey, Howard; Edward Cohen, C. C. N. Y.; Mildred Gutwillig, Vassar; A. Hominck, Syracuse; Coleman Horwitz, Yale; Sadie Jacobs, Adelphi; Louis Levine, Brooklyn Law; Platt Man, Columbia; Homer De Pasquale, Wisconsin; Martin M. Platt; C. C. N. Y.; Sophie Rosenson, Hunter; R. Ross, C. C. N. Y.; Daniel Smutenko, Brooklyn Law; Peter Wall, C. C. N. Y.; Bertha Wallenstein, Barnard; Weinberg, Yale; Julia Weiss, Adelphi; Frances Whiting, Vassar, and Viola Williams, Barnard.

THE PRIZE SPEAKING CONTEST

The Prize Speaking Contest and the Question Box on Socialism were the chief features of the Saturday morning

session at the People's House. The two prizes of \$25 and \$15 respectively were given to Lowell Brentano, Harvard, 1918, who spoke on "Excess Profits Conscription," and Ellery F. Reed, Clark University, on "Socialism and Man." Wm. Jaffee, C. C. N. Y., received honorable mention. Other participants were: R. E. Carey, Howard; Wm. M. Foster, Howard; Jacob Golub, C. C. N. Y., and Platt Man, Columbia.

The judges, Alexander Trachtenberg, Evans Clark and Ordway Tead, urged that the contest be continued in future years. Following the contest, those present asked numerous questions of the three judges regarding Socialist theory and practice.

On Saturday afternoon, the delegates were welcomed by the New York Alumni Chapter at the Saturday Camaraderie at the Civic Club. After the singing of Socialist songs, Prof. Alfred Hayes, Dr. G. B. L. Arner, Frederick Schroeder, Lajpat Rai, and Harry W. Laidler gave short talks, stating why they were or were not Socialists. Bernard Sexton told some fascinating original stories. Louise Adams Grout presided.

The Convention in its every session presented vigorous challenges to earnest thought, and, judging from the many comments of delegates and friends, proved an event long to be remembered for its inspiring messages and its spirit of comradeship.

H. W. L.

BOOK NOTES

The American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg, Director of the Bureau of Labor Research, Rand School of Social Science, (384 pp.) Price 60c.

As this issue goes to press, announcement is made of the publication of the American Labor Year Book, 1917-18. This volume is an attempt to record the progress of the Socialist and labor movements in the United States

and abroad during 1916 and 1917. It covers a wide range of subjects, including Labor and War, the Labor Movement in the United States, Labor and the Law, Social and Economic Conditions, the International Socialist, Labor and Cooperative Movements and the Socialist Movement in the United States. Compiled by the former president of the Yale Chapter of the I.

S. S. it is heartily recommended to all students of the social problem.

HIS FAMILY. By Ernest Poole. N. Y.: Macmillan. \$1.50.

In the dizzy whirl of the transition period in which we unhappily find ourselves to-day, it is a relief to open a door which admits us into a tranquil old home through whose sheltering walls the world-tumult sounds far-off and muffled. Such is the impression which Ernest Poole's second novel conveys in comparison with the bewildering and noisy phalanx of journals, war books, government reports which cover our reading tables.

We open its cover and enter expectantly. It is Friday evening and we at once settle down to a quiet game of chess between Roger Gale, our hero, and one of his family, his eldest daughter. Edith has torn herself away from her uptown apartment and her dear little brood for this weekly evening in the old home in the Washington Square Section of New York.

Once here, we are contented to remain. We sink into the cozy atmosphere with that same restful sense of limitation which we adore in Jane Austen's novels. When Deborah, the second daughter, whose little brood includes all the children of a tenement district, inveigles Roger and the reader down into the slums, we feel the same chill of unpleasant adventure as when Miss Taylor, the incomparable governess in "Emma," marries and goes to live half a mile away. Fortunately Laura, the third daughter, luxurious parasite, is only to be seen occasionally whirling away in a glistening limousine into which she is too selfish to admit her father.

The story follows Roger Gale as, inspired by the dying words of his wife: "You will live on in the lives of our children," he enters into all their struggles. It moves through the quiet unrolling of the years with no more episode than befalls any circle in that same time. Yet the interest in the intimate family picture never droops. For there is here the story-teller's art,

alluring description with a wealth of detail almost feminine, true power in portraying the human soul, save for a slightly jarring note in the women. There is no purpose, no propaganda. Nothing more than here and there a delicate touching on great questions, such as the relative value of personal and social service as shown in Edith and Deborah, or the sudden appearance and vanishing of the great query as to the future life. Just as in life, we start in for a reverie, when Roger suddenly decides to go upstairs and polish up the latest addition to his collection of rings, or it is time to go and help Edith and the children catch the train for the farm.

One can hardly wish that Mr. Poole had done otherwise, so delightful is the result. Yet he is a man absorbingly interested in the world's titanic struggles. It may be that in novel four or five, he may draw his men and women more vitally into the life of our day, and we shall as enchantedly follow them.

C. L.

JEAN JAURÈS. By Margaret Pease. N. Y.: Huebsch. \$1.00.

This unpretentious volume gives a fair picture of Jean Jaurès' great activities for the betterment of mankind. In Jaurès, more than any other statesman of France, was incorporated the spirit of the revolutionary struggle for freedom and brotherhood. I still picture him delivering his masterly oration at the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, in which he recited the story of his defeat by Bebel at the Amsterdam Congress, and his subsequent work in behalf of the unification of the French Socialist parties. I can still see him in my mind's eye struggling with the German language, like a lion in his cave, at a meeting in Berlin. It was on the occasion of the Morocco conflict in 1911. Jaurès went to Berlin and the Germans sent their representatives to Paris. The Prussian police prohibited him from speaking in his native tongue. He talked in German and Berlin never heard a greater protest against war than Jaurès made at that time.

Mrs. Margaret Pease did a real service to American readers in describing the main activities and his political influence. The great book on Jaurès is still to be written. This volume, however, is to be recommended as a brief bibliography. The volume also contains a charming introduction by Ramsay Macdonald.

S. Zimand.

CRIMES OF CHARITY. By Konrad Bercovici. N. Y.: Alfred A. Knopp. \$1.50.

Mr. Bercovici has written a scathing indictment of organized charity, and there is a stirring introduction by Mr. John Reed. Of greatest interest in this book is the new angle of attacking the latent evils of organized charity—its lack of compassion and its actual oppression and persecution of the poor to get "efficient results" from the business point of view. As Mr. Bercovici puts it: "I understood that the welfare of the poor did not concern the men at the head of the charity organization; that it has become a business for them, a business they were managing just as others manage factories. Their concern was to reduce the cost, to economize, just as the manufacturers try to produce the greatest amount of product with the smallest amount of outlay. And if hunger, starvation, sickness was the by-product, well so much the worse for the poor."

Mr. Bercovici makes his indictment convincing by use of the "case method" based on his own experience and observations as a charity paid "investigator." Unfortunately he has somewhat weakened his indictment by telling too much! Not too much of what is undoubtedly true, but too much of his own disgust and bitterness. One feels also that Mr. Bercovici has made a selection of the more awful "horribles" of his experiences. There may not be a "bright side"—Mr. John Reed assures us there is not—but occasionally a little color or wit or joy would serve better to make Mr. Bercovici's message ring clear and true out of the murk and filth and abominations he takes us to. If only the "cases" were

a little less "cases" and a little more individually human beings! Although Mr. Bercovici's interpretations and presentations of these unspeakably terrible crimes of charity are sometimes marred by crudity, his book as a whole is decidedly worth the most serious consideration.

John Jay Cisco, Jr.

POLITICAL IDEALS. By Bertrand Russell. N. Y.: Century (1917). 172 pp. \$1.

This newest volume by one of the keenest and most human philosophers of Europe should be read by every student of social problems. Whether one agrees or disagrees with Mr. Russell, we cannot read this small volume, in which the author deals with "Political Ideals," "Capitalism and the Wage System," "Pitfalls in Socialism," "Individual Liberty and Public Control," and "National Independence and Internationalism" without a feeling of intellectual and spiritual enrichment.

The author's strictures on Socialism apply chiefly to State Socialism of the bureaucratic type, and not to the democratic Socialism advocated by the Socialist movement in this country.

However, an emphasis on the necessity of a democratic management that will help to develop the individuality of workers is eminently worth while at a time when the world is being forced into a war-collectivism that possesses little of the spirit of democracy.

MILITARISM. By Karl Liebknecht. With a Preface by Sidney Zimand. N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch (1917). 178 pp. \$1.

This book on Militarism by a German whom many regard as the most striking figure of the war, is a revised lecture delivered in Germany at a conference of young people in September, 1906. The following year the book was confiscated, the author was charged with treason, tried and sentenced to a year and a half of imprisonment. During his term in prison he was elected to the Prussian Diet by the Berlin Social Democrats. The Preface gives a vivid word picture of the trial, and of Liebknecht's subsequent struggles against the military spirit, including his arrest in May of

1916, while participating in a May peace demonstration in Berlin. As is known, this arrest was followed by a four years' sentence. Mr. Zimand also gives a delightful sketch of Liebknecht, the man, the husband, the friend of mankind.

The book itself is divided into four parts: (1) The Nature and Significance of Militarism; (2) Capitalistic Militarism; (3) Means and Effects of Militarism, and (4) Concerning Some Cardinal Sins of Militarism. In the last chapter, Dr. Liebknecht describes the ill treatment of soldiers, resulting from the military spirit, the money cost of militarism, the use of the army against the proletariat in various countries and its menace to peace. The book is immensely stimulating to hard thinking on this question of overshadowing importance, and gives an insight into the opposition of the growing anti-war group in Germany which every student of international affairs should possess. It is to be regretted that the translator, while seeing to it that the author's meaning was faithfully interpreted, did not attempt to make a freer, more lucid and more idiomatic translation.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING. By Frederic C. Howe. N. Y.: Scribners (1917). 271 pp. \$1.50.

No better idea can be given of the comprehensiveness and worth-while-ness of this timely book on one of the most burning subjects in America today than by a bare recital of the table of contents. The topics discussed include the following: The feeding of the nation; our agricultural possibilities and problems; the food supply; gambling in wheat; the packers and the cattlemen; cold storage and food speculation; the middlemen and distributors; the transportation embargo; experiments in Denmark, Australia and Germany; other items in the family budget; freeing the highways of the nation; the embargo on farming; land for the landless; exploiting the would-be farmer; the tenant farmer; opening the land to agriculture; the farmer and the banker; a new agricul-

tural program and the new era in politics.

The book is replete with facts and suggestions of value to all who are interested in solving this problem in any fundamental fashion, and its perusal is most refreshing after a glance at the voluminous reports of cost of living commissions that recommend almost every remedy except those which promise to clip the wings of special privilege.

ENGLAND'S DEBT TO INDIA. A Historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India. By Lajpat Rai. N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch (1917). 358 pp. \$2.

This scholarly analysis of British policy by the distinguished Indian Nationalist is the first attempt to set forth in any comprehensive fashion just how the British financial policy has worked, as far as India and Great Britain are concerned. It is a companion book to "Young India," by the same author, in which the British rule from the political point of view is discussed. Mr. Rai is strongly of the opinion that statements of evils made by those whom "the shoe pinches" are generally discounted. He has therefore obtained his material chiefly from British rather than Indian sources, and declares that "there is not a single statement in this volume which is not supported by the best available British testimony, official and non-official." The British statements surely indicate the necessity for drastic reforms. The volume has been placed in the hands of all the members of Parliament, and, it is hoped, will form a basis for needed legislation in the very near future.

SOCIALISM. With an introduction on the Climax of Civilization. By Correa Moylan Walsh. N. Y.: Sturgis and Walton Co. (1917), 178 pp. \$1.50.

This is the second of three volumes by the same author. The first volume was entitled "The Climax of Civilization"; the second, "Socialism," and the third, "Feminism." The purpose of this volume is to criticize "Socialism from the point of view of its weakening effect upon the nation that attempts to adopt it, its impracticability and its utter unjustifiability." It is the contention of the author that "both Socialism and Feminism lead to complete demoralization; for

beneath each of them is a new morality of sentiment, replacing the old morality of duty." It traces the relation of Socialism to peace, vigorously criticizes Socialists' alleged teachings in regard to the family and religion; analyzes Marxian theory and generally pictures the Socialist philosophy and movement as a menace to civilization. The book combines a considerable erudition with a very real ability to misinterpret the genuine spirit of the Socialist movement.

SYNDICALISM. A Critical Examination. By J. Ramsay Macdonald. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. 74 pp. \$1.00.

This book is based upon six articles on Syndicalism which appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* during May, 1912. The lectures have been substantially altered and expanded, so that the book is not merely a reprint. The book reviews the Syndicalist movement, tendencies and philosophy from the standpoint of a Socialist leader who believes profoundly in the benefits of political action and who has had wide experience in labor politics.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Chas. D. Williams. N. Y.: Macmillan (1917). 132 pp. \$1.00.

This little book of 133 pages by the Episcopal-Protestant Bishop of Michigan, written in the hope that repeated blows may heat the cold iron of the Church's conscience" as regards the vital matter of social problems, is primarily an attempt to depict the evolution of the new social conscience; to indicate the attitude which the minister should take toward the fundamental economic problem of the day; to suggest that the church's concern should be to obtain justice rather than charity for the masses; to draw the line of demarcation between the sphere of the social reformer and the preacher, and to suggest "a possible practical program for such as may be moved to preach and apply the 'Gospel of the Kingdom.'" The spirit, the vision and the practical grasp of modern society evinced in the book are altogether admirable and the book should find a warm welcome in the library of all interested in the social message of Christianity.

PATRIOTISM AND RADICALISM. Addresses and Letters. By Mercer Green Johnston. Boston: Sherman, French and Co. (1917). 218 pp. \$1.35.

Mr. Johnston is known in the radical movement as the former prominent Episcopal clergyman who resigned from his pulpit, because he did not feel free while in his church to voice his social convictions. His addresses are partly biographical and partly social. Many of them relate to the present war. In them Mr. Johnston takes occasion to uphold the government for its entrance into war and criticizes the Socialists for their opposition thereto.

OUR DEMOCRACY—ITS ORIGIN AND ITS TASKS. By James H. Tufts. N. Y.: Holt (1917). 327 pp. \$1.50.

This book by Professor Tufts of the University of Chicago deals primarily with the principles and ideals which the machinery of government in this country is meant to serve. It is divided into two parts. Part I describes the evolution of the race up to its struggle for liberty at the close of the eighteenth century; Part II, the struggle for independence and for a stable form of government in the United States, concluding with a discussion of the present tasks of our democracy. As the author states, the book "is not for the scholar." It is intended for the citizen, and has ably fulfilled its purpose "of bringing together into a connected view and presenting in untechnical fashion" the historic and sociological backgrounds of our present government.

STUDIES IN DEMOCRACY. By Julia H. Gulliver. N. Y.: Putnam (1917). 98 pp. \$1.00.

The author, the president of Rockford College for Women, Illinois, endeavors to examine the essence of democracy, to state in what way American women may make a contribution to the democratic ideal and to answer the question as to how the efficiency of a democracy differs from that of an autocracy. The book contains a strong plea for the development of personality and is pervaded throughout by a fine spirit of social idealism.

IN THE CLAWS OF THE GERMAN EAGLE. By Albert Rhys Williams. N. Y.: Dutton (1917). 269 pp. \$1.50.

A thrillingly told story of the first months of the war, in which the author describes his capture and trial as a spy by the Germans, while observing conditions in Belgium as an American correspondent. Mr. Williams, a member of the I. S. S., has endeavored throughout the book to see "above the battle." The style of the book is exceptionally lucid, which is the redeeming characteristic of be heartily commended.

AN OLD WINE IN A NEW BOTTLE. By N. O. Ruggles. Boston: Badger (1917), 50 pp. 50 cents.

A piece of philosophic fiction in which a young prospective philosopher tries to lead to a new conception of God, immortality and the function of the church.

H. W. L.

PHILISTINE AND GENIUS. By Boris Sidis. Boston: Badger. \$1.00.

It is agreed that we are living under a vicious social system composed of unregenerate individual units. Our problem is how to make both better. "Philistine and Genius" sets forth the views of a thinker who specializes on the individual. He naturally recognizes the interdependence of the two arms of the problem. "The character of society," he says, "depends upon the early training of its constituent units," and follows it by: "Society fashions the beliefs . . . the character . . . of its constituent units."

His main line of thought would, we are constrained to admit, move with more force and progression, if not burdened with many repetitions of the diagnosis that society and its educational system are producing a philistine, mediocre type of man devoted to material ends, and that the race, in consequence, is in serious danger of mental and moral degeneration.

His remedy lies in an entirely new educational motif. He believes that genius is more or less latent in the average child, but that our school system with its methods of discipline, of conformity, of trade ideals, of uninteresting tasks, is stifling and nullifying it. A child's mental training should begin at two or three years of age, when he believes a genuine love of

knowledge may be awakened. Mental exercise if right can be as joyous to the child as physical. He lays stress on developing in early years the critical faculty as well. "The principle of recognition of evil under all its guises is at the basis of the true education of man." Precocity is not abnormal in his opinion. The law that the development of the individual is an abbreviated reproduction of the evolution of the species applies in the field of education as in biology. The period of education has been unconsciously, because very slowly, shortening through the course of human evolution. Precocity is a foreshadowing of the future when man will be conscious of this shortened process, and precocity will be seen to be normal. "At present the preliminary period of child education is unduly retarded to the detriment of the individual and society."

The book is an earnest appeal not to teachers, whom he brands as "philistine-educators, and mandarin-pseudagogues," but to fathers and mothers. He strives to awaken them to a realization of their power through early education, to mould a race of men who shall be thinkers and originators, good men as well as good citizens. Starting with a regenerated system of early training, he believes that we may far surpass the ancient Greeks.

C. L.

AFTER WAR PROBLEMS. Edited by Ltd. (1917).

Wm. Dawson. London: Allen & Unwin

In an otherwise unimportant little volume entitled "Economic Problems of Peace after War," Prof. W. R. Scott has these significant sentences: "There seems to be a popular way of thinking which is continually urging the Government to concentrate on the war and on nothing else. Such advice is directed in the wrong direction . . . The Government of the country at the present time is in a peculiar sense the custodian of the future."

It is in recognition of this custodianship for the future that Mr. Dawson has brought together a series of essays by numerous more or less prominent English writers on the problems of reconstruction. In so doing Mr. Dawson

performs a service which is noteworthy, not so much for what it succeeds in doing as for what it sets out to do. For the essays do not cover new ground nor do they treat of old material in an especially fresh or suggestive manner. But they do mark out a task and indicate a sheaf of problems to whose solution the best brains of the next generation must perforce be dedicated.

The task of reconstruction after the war is a world problem. And it is a problem which catches up into it threads from every special problem,—from international relations, politics, industry, social life, affairs of the spirit and of the whole appreciative and artistic side of life. It is the recognition of this need for new and fresh attack upon the whole fabric of modern institutional life which lends interest to the present volume. A mere listing of its chapter heads would convey the sense of an all-around, prophetic vision of the opportunity and the duty of a chastened civilization. We in America are all too disinclined to admit the need or the efficiency of chastening. But until we do, we will not write books with the breadth or positive quality which is the redeeming characteristic of the one under review. Nor will we conceive of our future and of its possibilities in terms at once so realistic, so fundamental and so all-inclusive. O. T.

(Book Notes continued p. 35.)

Topics for Discussion

(The following subjects are suggested by the Executive Committee to members of the Society as excellent subjects for discussion at their meetings.)

1. The Significance of the War Collectivism.
2. Should the Railroads be Immediately Nationalized?
3. Should the Coal Mines be Nationalized? Living (Social Ownership, etc.).
4. The Socialist Remedy to the High Cost of
5. The Food Problem and the Socialist Solution.
6. The City and Fuel.
7. How to Pay for the War: Involving the question of income, inheritance, land values and excess profits taxes and public ownership.
8. Public Health Activities and the War.
9. The War and the Conservation of Natural Resources.
10. American Education and the Lessons of the War.
11. The Effect of the War on Social Insurance.

12. The Effect of the War on the Labor Movement.
13. The Effect of the War on State Socialism, Guild Socialism, Democratic Socialism.
14. The Effect of the War on the Fetish of Competition.
15. The Forces leading to Further Socialization after the War.
16. Conscription of Wealth.
17. State Socialism (or Capitalism) and Democracy—Internationalism.
18. The Negro Problem and the War.
19. Lessons of Industrial and Human Efficiency and the War.
20. The Effect of the War on the Farmer.
21. The Effect of the War on Domestic Labor.
22. Women in Industry as a result of the War.
23. Cooperation—and the War.

References to above Subjects

For all references to publicly owned industries, such books as "State Socialism—Pro and Con," edited by Walling and Laidler, (Holt), and "Collectivism," by Emil Davies (Macmillan), are of special value. The Intercollegiate Socialist has articles on "War Collectivism" (1) in the issues of Dec.-Jan., 1915-16, April-May, 1917, and the present number.

"The Railroad Problem" (2) is discussed in "Railway Nationalization" by Emil Davies, in books by Prof. W. H. Ripley, files of the Railway Age Gazette, of the Public Utilities Magazine, of the Public, the New Republic, the daily newspapers, etc.

On the "Coal Mines" (3), read Scott Nearing's "Anthracite" (Macmillan); on the "Cost of Living" (4 and 5), Frederic C. Howe's book by that title; on "How to Pay for the War" (7), Webb's book by that title, Seligman's "How to Finance the War," in Columbia War Papers, J. A. Hobson's "Labor and the Cost of the War," pamphlet No. 16 of Union for Democratic Control, Chiozza Money's "Paying for the War," English Review, Vol. 31, p. 51, and Walling's "Income and Inheritance Taxes," (I. S. S. Supplement); on "Education" (10), John Dewey's "Democracy and Education"; on "Social Insurance" (11) Rubinow's "Social Insurance," "Health Insurance" and the Bulletins of the American Assn. for Labor Legislation; on the "Labor Movement" (12), G. D. H. Cole's "Labor in War Time," A. W. Kirkaldy's "Labor Finance and the War," Sidney Webb's "Restoration of Trade Union Conditions" and Webb and Freeman's "Great Britain after the War"; on "Guild Socialism" (13), S. G. Hobson's "Guild Principles in Peace and War," Cole's "Self-Government in Industry," Orage's "National Guilds," John Hobson's "Democracy after the War," Ordway Tead's article in January, 1918, Century; on "State Socialism and Internationalism," etc. (17), W. H. Dawson's "After-War Prob-

lems," Brailsford's "War and Steel," Wolff's "International Government," Walling and Laidler's "State Socialism—Pro and Con"; on "The Negro Problem" (18), Du Bois's "African Roots of War," Atlantic, May, 1915, "The Problem of Problems" in the Dec.-Jan., 1917-18, Intercollegiate Socialist and "The Migration of Negroes" in The Crisis, June, 1917; on "Industrial Efficiency," etc. (19), R. F. Hoxie's "Trade Unionism in the United States," Thompson's "Theory and Practice of Scientific Management," J. A. Hobson's "Work and Wealth" and R. F. Hoxie's "Scientific Management and Labor."

For 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, see also files of The Round Table, The New Statesman, The New Age, The Nation, The Athenaeum, The Manchester Guardian, The Labor Year Book, 1916, 1917, and The American Labor Year Book, 1916, 1918.

A very considerable amount of information concerning "Cooperation" (23), can be obtained from The Cooperative League of America, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The above are but a few of the many articles and books written on these important questions.

The Research Bureau

In these changing times it is hard for the research worker to keep apace of events. Our study of the problems of railroad nationalization has become more rather than less valuable in the light of present development, but it seems wiser to postpone further intensive work upon the problem until the situation becomes more stable and the results of existing governmental control more clear. Meanwhile the increasing significance of the organized labor movement as a factor in diplomacy and in the government of industry makes the careful study of trade union progress in England and America of great importance. And we are now bringing together the results of study in this direction, together with articles by us on the same subject which are appearing in several journals, in anticipation of a book on the war's effect on the labor movements of England and America. There is still room for the work of more volunteers, either in assisting with studies already under way or in the undertaking of independent studies which we would gladly sponsor.

Ordway Tead.

College Notes

During the latter part of February, Harry W. Laidler, the secretary of the Society, is planning a trip among the colleges of New England, and, during March and April, among the colleges of the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western States. Dr. Laidler is preparing two new addresses on "The Trend Toward State Socialism," and "Socialism—After the War," besides his other addresses on "The

Challenge of Socialism to the College-bred," "The City," "The Labor Movement Here and Abroad," etc. Those desiring to schedule lectures should write at once to the Society for dates.

The Society will be glad to furnish information regarding speakers to college organizations and others.

NEW ENGLAND STATES

The most interesting developments in the New England States have been the organization of the Chapter at WELLESLEY and the formation of the Greater Boston Inter-Chapter-League. This fall, after five or more years of petitioning, the students in Wellesley received permission to affiliate with the I. S. S. and the application for a charter was received during the I. S. S. Convention. Mary Spahr is the moving spirit in the group. In years previous, it was possible for the students to study Socialism, but the election of officers, the collection of dues and affiliation with the I. S. S. were taboo. Organizations now exist in such women's colleges as Barnard, Radcliffe, Vassar and Wellesley; it is probable that one will soon be started in Mt. Holyoke, though Bryn Mawr and Smith have not as yet succumbed to democratic petitionings.

The Chapters in and around Boston have this year organized an Inter-Chapter League, which includes the organizations at Harvard, Radcliffe, Wellesley, M. I. T., Tufts, Simmons, and one or two of the other colleges. Boris Stern of Harvard and Beatrice Jones of Radcliffe were primarily responsible for this move. The League held two joint meetings this Fall, addressed by W. Harris Crook on "Socialism—After the War," and Mme. Malmberg, on "The Russian Revolution." Mr. Crook is conducting a joint course on Socialism before the Harvard and Radcliffe Chapters.

The YALE Chapter reports that an excellent impression was made by Lajpat Rai, the Indian Nationalist, at the December meeting. "A great many men, students and professors, not ordinarily sympathetic with the organization, have complimented the officers on their good fortune and judgment in getting Mr. Rai to speak," declared E. Fay Campbell, the secretary of the Yale Society for the Study of Socialism. Mr. Campbell continues: "Professor Hayes will address the group in January on 'Is Labor Exploited?' Professor H. P. Fairchild and President Hadley will also speak at private meetings during the winter."

"One member of the Y. S. S. S. is rendering practical service in the Socialist movement by instructing a class of from 30 to 40 young people at the Y. P. S. L. at the New Haven Socialist Local.

"The officers also plan to have special group meetings for underclassmen at the college, for men who have just joined the Society and know nothing about Socialism and the Socialist movement. The Society appears to hold a higher place in the University every year. It is the only organization that holds open forum meetings each month. This fact is much appreciated by the New Haven public,

a considerable number of which attends all our meetings. Each member of the Y. P. S. L. pays a fee of \$1 a year which entitles him to *The Intercollegiate Socialist* and other literature, as well as the right to use the Society's growing library which includes some of the standard works on Socialist theory and practice."

The CLARK University Chapter has been reorganized, with Ellery Reed as president and Phyllis Blanchard as secretary. Several members of the faculty, including Dr. Arthur Calhoun, at whose home the Chapter meets, have joined. The Chapter has outlined an elaborate course on Socialism, assigning various phases of the Socialist philosophy to different members. Professor Frank Hankins and others are most sympathetic to the work of the Society.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The C. C. N. Y. Social Problems Club, under the able leadership of J. Liebstein and Wm. Weinstein, holds a foremost position in activity among I. S. S. Chapters. On Sunday night, December 22, as the climax of their semester of noteworthy endeavor, the Chapter held a Soirée (at the Washington Square Restaurant), attended by between 150 and 200 students. Helen Keller gave a powerful address on the revolutionary forces at work at the present time. Dr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, clearly analyzed the economic forces in back of the present war. Charlotte Perkins Gilman gave, in striking manner, her stirring appeal to labor. Dr. James P. Warbasse contrasted Cooperation with State Socialism, and the Secretary of the Society spoke on the necessity of synthesizing constructive movements toward industrial democracy. College songs and recitations added to the comrade spirit of the occasion. Jacob Liebstein, the president of the club, acted as toastmaster. The Social Problems Club now contains a membership of approximately 200. It is planning for the Spring the most active semester in its existence.

Active also in New York is the COLUMBIA Chapter of the I. S. S., of which Frank Tannenbaum is now president, and G. S. Aronoff, secretary. Professor John Dewey spoke before nearly 300 students in December under the auspices of this Chapter on "War and Education." J. G. Phelps Stokes, in November, gave an interesting analysis of the National Party. A. J. Sack, formerly director of the Russian Information Bureau, who was scheduled to address the Society in January, was, oddly enough, refused permission to speak by the Columbia authorities, after all arrangements had been made for him to address the Chapter. Whether or not this action was due to the fact that Mr. Sack is vigorously opposed to the tactics of the Bolsheviks, and an ardent admirer of Kerensky, and the authorities were fearful of offending the extreme Left now in control in Russia, it is impossible to say! The Chapter, after exams, will endeavor to find the reason.

BARNARD students have held a series of val-

uable meetings during the last few months with Professor William P. Montague, Emilie Hutchinson, Freda Kirchwey and Evans Clark as the principal speakers. Adele Franklin is president of the Chapter and May Hoffman, secretary. A number of the members were entertained by the president at her home during the Christmas holidays.

The VASSAR students report a most successful meeting on the "Russian Revolution" in December, with M. Olgin, author of "The Soul of the Russian Revolution," as the speaker. The members of the Chapter report that the lecturer gave an unusually clear exposition of the backgrounds of the Revolution.

The ADELPHI College Chapter, under the leadership of Dora Shapiro, is weekly continuing its study course, with Hillquit's "Socialism in Theory and Practice" as the textbook. One of the late January meetings resolved itself into a vigorous discussion of the value of social reform as against revolution.

One of the most enthusiastic gatherings of the last couple of years was reported by the CORNELL Chapter, during the visit of Louis B. Boudin at Thanksgiving. Mr. Boudin spoke on "The Tragedy of the Russian Revolution." The college authorities at first vigorously opposed the meeting, but finally permitted it to take place, and, after the gathering, numbers of the faculty congratulated the speaker and the Chapter on the address. The Cornell group is pursuing a regular study course. Clarence Hotson is president.

The University of PITTSBURGH reports greater interest in the message of the Society than ever before. The chief difficulty met is in the securing of speakers for the public meetings. Laura Teitlebaum, the delegate at the Convention from SYRACUSE, reports a reorganized Chapter with plenty of enthusiasm and eagerness to learn more about Socialism.

Both HUNTER and BROOKLYN LAW SCHOOL students are finding it difficult to secure permission of the college authorities for an I. S. S. Chapter, although there is a vigorous desire for study groups at both of these institutions.

The HOWARD College Chapter, Washington, D. C., has again organized, after the lapse of a few months, caused by the draft situation, and is promising some interesting Spring meetings.

MIDDLE WEST

The University of MISSOURI is among the most active here. Addresses were given in the Fall by Professor J. W. Hudson on "The Philosophic Basis of Socialism," and Professor C. A. Ellwood on "The Development of Socialism Prior to the War." The VALPARAISO University group is holding up its reputation as one of the most devoted of the groups. The WISCONSIN University Chapter of which Homer de Pasquale is president, is, in spite of opposition, holding a number of excellent gatherings. They report five lectures last Fall by professors and others. The OHIO STATE and MICHIGAN Chapters also report worthwhile gatherings.

NEW YORK ALUMNI CHAPTERS

Under the efficient secretaryship of Louise Adams Grout, the New York Alumni Chapter has been continuing its series of intensely interesting gatherings. On January 25 it held a meeting in Greenwich House on "The Trail of the I. W. W.," at which Robert W. Bruere, who had recently returned from a tour of the country studying labor conditions, and Professor Harry Ward, of Boston University Theological Seminary, were the principal speakers. The meeting was attended by several hundred members and friends of the Society.

At the Saturday Camaraderies at the Civic Club and the Washington Square Restaurant, the following meetings have been held: December 1, "Our Immediate Program," Judge Jacob Panken; December 8, "The Outlook in Ireland," Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington; December 15, "The Outlook in the Balkans," Sidney Zimand; December 22, "The Outlook in Russia," M. Olgin; January 5, "Revision or Application" (of Marxian Theory), Joseph D. Cannon and Jessie W. Hughan; January 12, "Guild Socialism," Joseph L. Cohen, Randolph Bourne and Ordway Tead; January 19, "The Class Struggle," Ida C. Hazlett, Mr. Mumford; January 26, "The Municipal Republic," Bouck White; February 2, "State Socialism, Pro or Con," Harry W. Laidler and Irwin Granich.

On November 22, the Chapter as well held a meeting at Miss Stokes' Studio, at which Prestonia Mann Martin issued a challenge to the new women voters, and Mary Simkhovitch, Jessie W. Hughan, Rose Schneiderman, Theresa Malkiel, Elsie Hill and Lou Rogers replied.

Among the hosts and hostesses at these gatherings were: Mr. and Mrs. Geo. H. Strobbe, Katharine de Selding, Ralph E. Cheyney, Mr. and Mrs. James Zilboorg, Mr. and Mrs. Alex. Trachtenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Evans Clark, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mary R. Sanford, Mr. and Mrs. Scott H. Perky, Mr. and Mrs. Ordway Tead and others.

With the entering of the Rand School into the People's House, 7 E. 15th St., New York

City, the school is taking on more and more the character of a worker's university. The following courses of lectures to be held during February and March are indicative of this trend:

"Typical Problems in Philosophy," Prof. W. P. Montague; "Socialism," Morris Hillquit; "The Human Elements in Economics," Dr. Scott Nearing; "Music in Its Relation to Life," Herman Epstein; "Elements of Political Science," Evans Clark; "Problems of Trade Unionism," Alex. Trachtenberg; "The Voice in Public Speaking," Eugene Wood; "Recent Economic History," Algernon Lee.

Communications

Sir:—Will you permit a few words of comment on Mr. Benedict's review of Mr. Herron's book in your issue just received?

Mr. Benedict states that Mr. Herron assumes that the method of proving the Allies' right is that of military success, although Mr. H. has denied that might makes right. I submit that Mr. Herron's assertion is not that a thing is right because it is backed by the stronger army but that it can be put into effect only by the stronger army. Now, that is an axiom. When Germany, believing that might makes right, marched her armies into Belgium, the only way to stop her was by stronger armies. The non-resistant theory merely establishes the might-makes-right theory as an accepted fact in the world.

Again, might does not make right but it does bring about the acceptance of a theory, a rule of conduct, as a right thing.

Yours very truly,
Edward M. Winston.

Mr. James Weldon Johnson asks that we make the following corrections to his poem on "Black and Unknown Bards," appearing in the last issue of the magazine: The fifth line should read, "Who first from 'midst his bonds lifted his eyes," and the eighth, "Within his dark kept soul burst into song."

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Municipal Ownership in the United States.

By Evans Clark. An impartial and scholarly survey of the extent of municipal control of public utilities in this country.

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The Communist Manifesto. By Karl Marx

and Frederic Engels. The first statement of so-called scientific Socialism ever issued. Published in 1848. A brilliantly written Socialist classic with which all students of the movement should be familiar.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific. By Frederic Engels.

Next to the Communist Manifesto, the most famous Socialist classic ever published. Indispensable to a knowledge of the evolution of Socialist thought.

Cooperation in the United States. By

Cheves W. Perky. The first comprehensive survey ever made of the voluntary cooperative movement of consumers in this country.

A CHOICE GROUP OF BOOKS ON THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT**State Socialism, Pro and Con.** Edited

by William English Walling and Harry W. Laidler, with a chapter on Municipal Socialism by Evans Clark. \$2.00. Governments have been doing a large part of the world's work since the war: operating railways, mercantile marines and mines, nationalizing and distributing most of the food supply, declaring monopolies in raw materials and controlling many manufacturing industries. Some of these activities will cease with the war; others will continue and new activities will be added. Moreover, collectivism or "State Socialism" did not originate with the war. It has been advancing at a constantly accelerated speed for a quarter century. The whole recent development is covered in this volume. The volume is in no sense an argument for or against "State Socialism."

The Socialism of To-day. Edited by Wm.

English Walling, Jessie W. Hughan, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Harry W. Laidler and others. The first comprehensive source book on the international Socialist movement ever issued. Consists chiefly of original documents, speeches, resolutions, articles, etc., by Socialists and Socialist parties throughout the world. Deals with the attitude of Socialists on all important problems. \$1.75.

Applied Socialism. By John Spargo. \$1.25.

The clearest and most logical statement yet written by an American Socialist re-

garding the probable working out of the co-operative system.

Socialism—A Promise or Menace? By Morris Hillquit and Dr. John A. Ryan. \$1.50. An extraordinarily able debate on the *pros* and *cons* of Socialism by prominent protagonists of each point of view.

The Elements of Socialism. By John

Spargo and Dr. Geo. L. B. Arner. \$1.50. A college text-book on Socialism covering all phases of the movement in a systematic and scholarly fashion. The most comprehensive text-book yet written on the subject.

Violence and the Labor Movement. By

Robert Hunter. \$1.50. A dramatic portrayal of the place of violence in the labor movement and of the long conflict between Socialism and Anarchism.

Socialism and Character. By Prof. Vida D.

Scudder. \$1.50. A finely reasoned attempt by a master English stylist to show the possible development of the ethical and spiritual in man under Socialism.

The Cry for Justice. An anthology of So-

cial Protest. Edited by Upton Sinclair. \$2.00. A remarkable collection of burning messages in prose and poetry that have kindled the fires of social protest throughout the ages.

America and the World Epoch. By Chas.

P. Steinmetz. \$1.00. A keen analysis of industrial development by one of the foremost engineers and Socialists in America.

History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup.

Revised by Edward Pease. \$2.00. The standard history of this movement from the days of Utopian Socialism to the outbreak of the European War.

Socialism and Superior Brains. By Bernard

Shaw. A telling answer by the famous dramatist and Socialist to Mallock's contention that Socialism will stifle the incentive.

The American Labor Year Book, 1917-1918.

60. By the Department of Labor Research of the Rand School of Social Science. Gives innumerable statistics regarding the Socialist and labor movements here and abroad and expert analysis of social conditions.

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New Worlds for Old. By H. G. Wells. An

analysis of the true import of Socialism written in the same brilliant style which characterizes Wells's other writings.

Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. A

lucid statement by the foremost Socialist theorist of Europe of the meaning of the proletarian struggle and of the probable outlines of the Socialist Republic. Every student of Socialism should possess this book.

Socialists at Work. By Robert Hunter. Contains a number of remarkably vivid sketches of leading personalities in the European Socialist movement, as well as an account of the activities of the various parties.

A Preface to Politics. By Walter Lippmann. An attempt by one of the most promising of the younger writers of the day to induce the average American to think deeper than present-day political catchwords.

(Book Notes continued from p. 30)

KING COAL. A Novel. By Upton Sinclair. With an introduction by Dr. Georg Brandes. N. Y.: MacMillan Co., 1917.

Here is to be found a concrete example of the class war in action. By a different route, it reaches the same goal as Professor Ward's book, and indicts our industrial system of making property supreme over human life. Like Mr. Lansbury's it is a call not to forget in the great national war abroad, the equally great war of the workers.

A new novel by Upton Sinclair is always a literary event, and this one is equal to his best. It is the "Jungle" again, but this time in the coal fields. It can hardly hope to repeat that novel's marvellous career, for in the decade of revelation and dire experience which has intervened, the public has outgrown its childlike ignorance and trust. To-day, heartsick and weary, it might even turn away from this added tragedy.

To open the coal black covers of "King Coal" is to see, smell, breathe, hear the rattle, the dust, grime, sordidness, despair of an American coal mining camp where the workers are unorganized. Hal Warner desiring to know the truth about his father's coal-won millions, impulsively comes to work in the mines. Through his eyes, we see the lives of the men and women, detached groups, most of them from somewhere East of the Danube, not knowing each other's language or thoughts, overworked, underfed, bereft of hope. One by one, he feels upon his own back, the blows of the corporation which has ground them down into mute despair, and gradually is revealed to him the whole weight of

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a great industrial machine which has caught them as in a trap—the tyranny of the camp-marshal, the spies reporting any soul who dares murmur in revolt, even the sermons of the company's minister, the cheating in the company's store, on up through court and police officials even to the governor of the state and the press of the nation. For Hal in his passion to help these under dog brothers and with his superior position and knowledge of the world makes a spanking good hero, and does all those things which the reader longs to have done.

To those who love a good story, it is stirring reading, for Sinclair is a master workmen in his trade. To those who realize its deeper meaning, it is a call to greater service in the worker's cause. No one can escape its appeal on the ground that all this is fiction, for the book is a serious and consecrated piece of work and in the Postscript is to be found ample proof of its authoritative foundation.

C. L.

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